



THE MONTH

A CATHOLIC MAGAZINE



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"The Month" and John Henry Newman.

II. ANGLICAN CONTROVERSY. 1866.

DR. PUSEY'S *Eirenicon*, of which something was said in our previous article,¹ attracted so much attention, and was so confidently quoted by his party as a full justification of their position, as against Rome,—that Dr. Newman, though with evident reluctance, felt it his duty to take the field. As we have seen, he had already declared he would not write against Pusey anonymously,² and his reply took the form of *A Letter to the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D., on his recent Eirenicon*, published early in 1866. Upon it, in conjunction with Canon Oakeley's pamphlet *Leading Topics of the Eirenicon*, Father Coleridge based an article in the March number of THE MONTH under the title *Pamphlets on the Eirenicon*, the appearance of which very promptly elicited the following letter.

The Oratory,
Birmingham,
Feb'y 28, 1866.

My dear Fr. Coleridge,

I thank you very much for your critique on my Pamphlet in *The Month*. It will do me a great deal of good, I am sensible I have been bold, perhaps venturesome, in some things I have said—but I have said them nevertheless deliberately and as a matter of duty—and trusting that my good intention and my confidence that on the whole and in substance I am right, will be allowed to compensate for those imperfections which *humana parum cavit natura*. And many of your remarks shelter me. I have not observed anything which I should have wished otherwise, except that in one place you seem to imply that I charge Pusey with not really believing in our Lord's Divinity—but perhaps you don't imply this—and

¹ January, 1903.

² To Father Coleridge, Nov. 24, 1865, sup.

that somewhere you quote me as saying Anglicans, when I have said Protestants.

I have not yet had time to read the number,—but, as I cut open the leaves, the articles seemed to me to maintain that steady advance in merit which has characterized the Magazine for some time past.

Very sincerely yours,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

A few days later an offer was made of which unfortunately we hear no more.

The Oratory B^m

March 15 /66.

My dear Fr. Coleridge,

What would you say to Papers on the Life and Times of Sully, for *The Month*? I have been making (hitherto) unsuccessful attempts at such a result. I *could* not promise them—1. because I cannot reckon on time. 2. nor on capacity—but I will at least try, if you encourage me. But don't think of it, if you really would not wish it. If you did wish it, tell me how many pages each number should be.

Yours very sincerely in Xt.

JOHN H. NEWMAN

Of the Oratory.

Of this proposal Father Coleridge writes—"I could not have been otherwise than delighted, but he never found time."

Whilst the controversies aroused by the *Eirenicon* were far from being spent, another book appeared which in its time attracted much attention. This was *Ecce Homo*, in which a vigorous plea for Christianity was based upon an examination of the life and character of its Founder, but with qualifications which undoubtedly were incompatible with an acknowledgment of His Divinity. With this book and the questions raised therein Dr. Newman undertook to deal in an article for THE MONTH, of which we first hear in the next letter.

Father Coleridge had meanwhile again attacked Pusey in an article published in the April number and entitled *Archbishop Manning on the Reunion of Christendom*. It is to this article that the very full criticisms refer with which we shall meet presently.

The Oratory B^m

April 3 /66.

My dear Fr. Coleridge,

I had *begun* my article on *Ecce Homo*, but I never can reckon against interruptions—and thus I fall back, and have to get the steam up again, so that I cannot promise it by a particular time—all I can say is that I will do my best.

Very sincerely yours in Xt.

JOHN H. NEWMAN

Of the Oratory.

P.S.—If I had time, I should take you to task, not for *proving* things against Pusey, but for calling him names, imputing to him motives, &c. &c. This is as unlawful as using poisoned weapons in war.

* The death of Newman's friend and old associate, Keble, which occurred on the 29th of March, 1866, called forth from him in various letters expressions of affection and esteem, as well as some account of the relations between them in regard of the Oriel election of 1827, when Newman and some of those most intimate with him voted for Hawkins as Provost and against Keble; though the latter was regarded as their ally.

The Oratory B^m

April 9/66.

My dear Fr. Coleridge,

I am much concerned to hear of your indisposition—but who can wonder, when Lent, the confessional, and *The Month*, were all upon you at once? You, Jesuits, live fast. I am glad you are going away.

However, this has altered an intention of mine. I was going by this post to send you a sample of my article (little enough) but I thought you would like to see it. But since I am quite uncertain whether I shall get through it in time for the *May Month*, I don't know why I should needlessly torment you with it—and have therefore stayed my hand.

You are quite right in calling me to task for the "masterly"—would "elaborate" have done?¹ I am sorry to hear you say

¹ It is not known to what this refers.

that Pusey's book is doing harm. I had hoped it would only tell, when readers already wished it to tell on them.

I have no intention, thank you, of writing on dear Keble. How strange it is! he seems to have received all doctrine, except the necessity of being in communion with the Holy See. His wife, as far as I can make out, is still alive. She kept back the funeral a day, hoping to be buried with him. Her grave is made. To continue what I said the other day, it seems to me no difficulty to suppose a person in good faith on such a point as the necessity of communion with Rome. Till he saw that, (or that he was not in the Church), he was bound to remain as he was and it was in this way that he always put it. Of course it would be a great kindness if you negatived the report about me, should you hear it.

1. Pusey and Dornford, I think, persuaded me to vote for Hawkins—but, besides this, I knew Hawkins and he had taken me up, while Keble had fought shy of me. But it is a sort of College secret, and you must say nothing in your article which you learn from *me*. I thought Hawkins would make the better Provost. I said "If we were electing an angel, we ought to take Keble, but we are only electing a Provost." Others voted for him seeing us three, Dornford, Pusey and me, for him—for the doubt was whether he would get on with the Fellows—and there could not be a greater proof that he would, than to find that three residents voted for him. For some time, I wavered between Keble and Hawkins, but I felt drawn to Hawkins by his past kindnesses.

2. I have seen that beautiful poem, though I don't recollect it accurately. Certainly I think you might describe it.

Very sincerely yours in Xt.

JOHN H. NEWMAN

of the Oratory.

Father Coleridge writes in his annotations: "The 'beautiful poem' he speaks of at the end, is *The Mother out of sight*, which was left out of the *Lyra Innocentium*, at the urgent request of my father and the Dysons. Keble was much annoyed at the opposition."

From the letter which comes next it would seem that Dean Church was thought of as Keble's biographer, an office which, at the earnest request of Mrs. Keble, was undertaken by Sir John Taylor Coleridge, of whom we have just heard as urging

the omission of the "beautiful poem," which seemed to him and others amongst its author's friends too Catholic for publication in respect of the homage which it paid to our Lady.

The OY B^m

April 13 /66.

My dear Fr. Coleridge,

You say nothing of your health, and your movements.

1. As to my review, I am at it every day. But the interruptions are many, and, when I come back to it, I am so tired, that I cannot get on, and I have not yet read the book through. I could send you, as I said, a portion to hasten the printing, but I could not promise the day on which it is to be finished—nor do I know your latest day.

I should send you a portion, if I did, for *revision*. It will need carefully looking through, and I will attend to any remarks you make. This consideration seems to show that it *cannot* comfortably be ready for this month.

2. Church is just the man, if he will undertake it. My own notion of writing a life is the notion of Hurrell Froude, viz. *to do it by letters* and to bring in as little letter press of one's own as possible. Froude has so done his Becket. It is far more real, and therefore interesting than any other way. Stanley has so done Arnold's.

3. As to Pusey, I fully think that whatever is misrepresented in facts should be brought out, as well as what is wrong in theology. But, as I should say to Church, "put in original letters with as little comment of your own as possible," so I say in this other matter, "show that Pusey's facts are wrong, but don't abuse him." Abuse is as great a mistake in controversy as panegyric in biography. Of course a man must state strongly his opinion, but that is not personal vituperation. Now I am not taking the liberty of accusing you of vituperation, but I think an Anglican would say "This writer is fierce—" and would put you aside in consequence as a partizan. He would shrink into his prejudices instead of imbibing confidence.

Now mind, I am not accusing you of all this maladresse, but bringing out what I *mean*. But I will tell you, if you will bear with me, what does seem to me to approach to it in what you have written, e.g.¹

¹ As has already been said, the references are to the article *Archbishop Manning on the Reunion of Christendom*, in *THE MONTH* for April, 1866.

1. "The great name of Bossuet has been *foolishly* invoked by Dr. Pusey," p. 384.
2. "There can be no more mistake about the fact than about the *impression which Dr. Pusey has meant to produce* on his readers," p. 387, note.
3. "How does this . . . differ from the *artifice of an unscrupulous advocate*?" p. 388.
4. "Great confusion of thought," p. 388.
5. "In happy unconsciousness of the absurdity of his language," p. 389.
6. "This language shows as much *confusion or ignorance, &c.*" p. 389.
7. "He does not *understand* that . . ." p. 389.
8. "He *talks* of a continual flow, etc." p. 389.
9. "This is very *childish*," p. 389.
10. "Dr. Pusey then must have deliberately ignored the distinction," p. 389.

It must be recollected that your object is to convince those who respect and love Dr. Pusey that he has written hastily and rashly and gone beyond his measure. Now, if even *I* feel pained to read such things said of him, what do you suppose is the feeling of those who look up to him as their guide? They are as indignant at finding him thus treated as you are for his treatment of Catholic doctrine. They close their ears and hearts. Yet these are the very people you write for. You don't write to convert the good Fathers at No. 9,¹ but to say a word in season to *his* followers and to *his* friends—to dispose them to look kindly on Catholics and Catholic doctrine—to entertain the possibility that they have misjudged us, and that they are needlessly, as well as dangerously keeping away from us—but to mix up your irrefutable matter with a personal attack on Pusey, is as if you were to load your gun carefully, and then as deliberately to administer some drops of water at the touch-hole.

Now excuse me for all this, but you have put me on my defence by making the point at issue whether or not the "Papers should be suffered all to assume that his statements are founded on real theological knowledge—" which is not the issue.

Very sincerely yours,
JOHN H. NEWMAN.

¹ No. 9 Hill Street (now No. 16) then served as the residence of the Farm Street community.

Of these criticisms, Father Coleridge wrote :

"The latter part of the letter shows his extreme kindness, and I quite acknowledge that the faults he pointed out were such. I lived in an atmosphere where Pusey's name was a bugbear. We heard constantly of his unfair dealings in controversy. His sanguine character made him always think what he wished to be the case, and it was the same as to his controversial statements, and he very seldom acknowledged a misstatement except by tacitly altering it. Father Harper caught him out in a lot of places in *Peace through the Truth*, which Pusey undertook to answer, but he never did. Still, Newman was right in his criticism on me, and I hope I told him so."

April 18 /66.

My dear Fr. Coleridge,

In great haste.

The article on Keble in *The Times* was so very accurate in its Oriel facts, that I think it must have been written by T. Mozley.

I voted for Hawkins. I wrote to Keble to say why I did so, &c. &c., ending by saying "however, it was unnecessary—for I knew he did *not wish* to be Head." He wrote me back a kind letter, but said I had no right to take it for granted he did not wish to be Head.

I recollect being very much surprised—I must have his letter somewhere. I think he meant partly to snub me, as if I had no right to conjecture in so serious a matter what I knew nothing about, and had no right, writing to him, to put him aside in a cavalier way—but I am half inclined to think he *did* wish to be Head.

Ever yrs sincerely,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

P.S. There was no formal standing for the Headship—but Keble's friends put him forward.

In the number of THE MONTH for May there was an article upon Keble, which, as the following letter shows, was written by Father Coleridge, but bearing no signature of any sort. A proof of it was evidently sent for Dr. Newman's approval, as appears from the date at which he was able to pronounce upon it.

The Oratory B^m

April 20 /66.

My dear Fr. Coleridge,

The article on Keble is very able and very beautiful. It must do a great deal of good, in this respect, if in no other, in interesting Anglicans in *The Month*, and again in interesting Catholics in a very remarkable adherent to Anglicanism. It is a mode of bringing two sets of men together more powerful than any other, and one which involves no violation of principle. And it tends to show that a rigidly Catholic publication, such as *The Month* is, is able to recognise facts as facts, and is not afraid for the Catholic religion, if moral goodness is to be found in bodies not Catholic.

p. 442. "Shedding a dew, &c."¹ This is very happy; it is Keble all over. Whately used to spit into the fire, between two friends sitting opposite to him at table. Such is the character of some men's minds. Even if they bring out what is true and good, still they spit: but Keble was like the dew from a fountain, as you say.

p. 444. For "new-born isle," read "rill."²

ibid. Fairford was not his father's living. I forget the name (was it Combe?), very small and without a parsonage—so they lived at Fairford, in a house with a large paddock, which was a great gain to his invalid sister, who could not move except in a chair.

p. 445. It is quite true that for the Provostship "he neither put himself formally forward, nor exerted himself to obtain it." When he said to me what I told you, I think he meant "you must not shelter yourself behind any imagination of that kind, when your duty is to take the best man, whether he likes it or no."

p. 446. Had not Hawkins been Provost, we should (humanly speaking), Wilberforce, Froude, and I, have worked on as Tutors under Keble for years—we had given ourselves to Tuition—we had greatly reformed the College even under Hawkins—we had kept up, perhaps increased, the number of first classes—we insisted on making the office pastoral—at least

¹ "His bright, fresh, joyous and affectionate nature was like an ever-flowing spring, always at play, always shedding a gentle, imperceptible, and recreating dew upon all those who came within its reach."

² This is an obvious printer's blunder which could not have escaped notice in proof, occurring in a quotation of the first line of the poem in the *Christian Year* (for Easter Monday), which begins, "Go up, and watch the new-born rill. . . ."

I did—and that was the acknowledged issue between Hawkins and me. I would not act as anything short of pastor to my pupils. I would not *resign*, saying my office was, by the University Statutes, a University, not a College affair. The dispute ended in his cutting off the supplies—he gave me no new pupils—Sir F. Rogers¹ was about my last, in 1832. He took two first. The succession of honours has ceased from that time to this. My heart was wrapped up in that kind of life—and, though I liked ecclesiastical history, and had begun reading the Fathers systematically in 1828, (so that my pupils, on my ceasing to be a Tutor, made me a present of many of the Fathers, not of plate,) yet I doubt whether I should have *written* on such subjects. Thus the movement would not have begun, I think, but for the act of Hawkins. As I, on leaving the Tuition, took to the Arians, so Hurrell Froude took to St. Thomas à Beckett.

p. 448. "impertinent and preposterous," rather it would be "simply untrue." Unless you say something equivalent to this, will you not seem unkind to *Mrs.* Keble? You only say it would be *impertinent* to call her a Xantippe.

p. 449. "Admirable commentary on the Gospels."² I don't want you to alter it—but I am thinking what would people say if you spoke of Nicole's or Quesnell's "admirable &c." Of course the latter authors are actually condemned by the Church—not I. W.

p. 449—note. Was he "twice Vicar"? or first curate and then Vicar? Certainly he was not Vicar in 1828—I think not in 1829, or till 1835. As to Keble's theological works, are you sure that he has not left a commentary on the gospels behind him?

p. 451. "We need hardly ask to be forgiven" . . . "indulgent" and "full"—people will say you apologize too much, and are tame, on alluding to a great insult to the Bride of Xt.³

ibid. towards the end—"almost undue extent"—I should have thought "he certainly allowed their influence to an unlawful extent &c."⁴

¹ Afterwards Lord Blachford.

² The epithet "admirable" was omitted in the published article. The Commentary spoken of was that of Isaac Williams.

³ The passage thus criticized has altogether disappeared from the article. It must evidently have had reference to Keble's injunction to his readers to "speak but gently of our sister's fall": the sister in question being the Church of Rome.

⁴ The change thus suggested was made.

p. 454. "nineteenth" I suppose is right? no, surely "ninetieth"—for you say "this year."¹

p. 457. Your ending about Penelope is extremely beautiful²—(and I am so glad you like the *Odyssey*. It has always been a puzzle to me why it is postponed to the *Iliad*, which is so bloody and barbarous,) and I think your words "The dream of a student &c." embody a great truth.

Yours most sincerely

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

The next communication clearly refers to the article upon *Ecce Homo*, which was published in *THE MONTH* for June, 1866, without any indication of its authorship.

The Oratory B^m

May 1 /66.

My dear Fr. Coleridge,

My hand is so tired that I can hardly make strokes. I intend tonight to send up 18 pages of my article to you—one of my pages makes one of *The Month*, I think. About 5 or 6 more are to come, they are all but finished.

If you think it well to send the 18 which I send you to the press, bidding the printer to send the proof to *me*, and allow me to send the rest straight to the printer with a like message, it will be all ready for your literary and theological animadversions by the time you are out of retreat. Is it your way to have copy put up in *slips* instead of pages? *If* so, mine had better

¹ "The ninetieth edition [of the *Christian Year*], printed in this year, lies before us."

² "Homer ends his *Odyssey* with a touching but very natural scene, which has always seemed to us to be full of the deepest significance. Penelope has been faithful all those long years to the image of her husband; it has been the food of her thoughts and her dreams, and she has proved her constancy in the way which has made her so famous. At last Ulysses returns; the suitors are slain—all fear and peril are over; but she shrinks back from his embrace, and doubts her own happiness. She has the image in her heart of the hero of twenty years ago; and the care-worn, tempest-beaten, half-aged stranger that stands before her is so unlike that image that she does not know him. The parable is repeated, almost certainly, whenever something which we have long dreamt of, and around which our fondest affection and fancies have clung, is presented to us in the reality which it wears in the world of truth and life."

This is applied to Keble's failure to recognize in the Church of the actual world the idea that he had created of her: "The dream of a student," it is said, "can never be like the reality of the work of God."

be in slips. I have been at it today for eight hours, and shall require at least one more, before I get tonight's parcel off.

Very sincerely yours in Xt.

JOHN H. NEWMAN
of the Oratory.

P.S. Post time has come and the 18 pages are not throughout corrected—so I must send them tomorrow (Wednesday) night.

The Oratory B^m
May 22 /66.

My dear Fr. Coleridge,

Thank you for making the correction. If there were no other good in it, there is this, which is a great relief to me,—it is a sensible proof that careful eyes have been at my article. My ambiguity arose from the circumstance, that in English "tradition" is both the act and the thing, the *modus tradendi* and the *res tradita*. I was speaking of the *res tradita* which is one—but there are two channels of information, Scripture and Tradition. You could not have put a better word than "account," as you have done.

I am very sorry that your article on Keble has been attacked ; and cannot conceive why? is it for what you leave out? that you have not said that he died without hope? or that he rejected grace? you have not done so certainly—but it is very hard if you may not state the facts of a man's history and character, and there leave the matter. If you have any means of knowing, I should be very glad, if at some time you tell me what the definite charge is that is brought against the article.

Most sincerely yours in Xt.

JOHN H. NEWMAN
of the Oratory.

The Oratory B^m
Oct^r 21 /66.

My dear Fr. Coleridge,

H. Wilberforce fancies in his kindness that some pages I wrote for the French Translation of my *Apologia*, by way of explaining to foreigners the state of things in the Anglican Church, would be of use in England. I cannot see this. I have said nothing in them but what every one here knows very well. I have no objection at all to its being published

in English, but I don't think it worth publishing. You are quite welcome to it, but (if you take it) it would be better to say that it is translated from the French.

It has pained me to find that in *The Month* the Anglican Sacrament has been said to be probably a slice of a quartern loaf, and nothing else.¹ What good such expressions can do, I know not—but I feel keenly what harm they do.

Then as to the Pusey controversy, of course (to take the lowest ground, and without reference to the duty of a Catholic periodical) you are in for it, and must go on. But you are in for it for good and bad—and as you (in consistency) must profess eagerly and confidently to be looking out for his promised explanation, and may fairly anticipate his failure, so again while the controversy lasts in its identity and continuity, you must carry with you in your readers' thoughts, all you have said in your earlier papers on the subject, and necessarily bear the burden of all those hard sayings against him, which now perhaps you might wish to smooth down, if you could. They live in your fresh papers tho' these may be written in a better spirit, because the controversy is *one*. I confess I wish you were not on what I think the wrong side of the line.

Yours most sincerely,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

As we have seen above, Father Coleridge fully recognized the justice of the criticisms made by Dr. Newman, and he would appear to have talked at this point of the correspondence of retiring from a field in which he was judged to have made such mistakes. It must have been some such communication on his part which elicited the next letter.

The Oratory B^m

Oct. 24 1866.

My dear Fr. Coleridge,

The worst effect that could happen from any letter of mine to you, would be your giving up controversial writing, for I do not know any one who would write with greater taste and self restraint, to say nothing of higher qualities, than yourself.

¹ This offensive expression occurs in an article entitled *Unionist Essays*, in the October number, 1866. There is no indication of the authorship. It is instructive, as helping us to realize the distance that has been travelled since those days, to find that such language should then have been allowed to pass.

Of course I take a different view of Pusey from what you do—but for argument's sake I will allow that, as you say, he shuffles desperately—also I take the very ground that you do, *viz.* that his word is taken as law by numbers, when it should not be. Also, of course, I think and desire that for the sake of those numbers, and moreover (which it strikes me you do not so much consider) *for the sake of himself*, what he says incorrectly, should be set right, and brought home to him as requiring such right-setting.

And now, it is because I wish you so much to continue to write as controversialist in *The Month*, and hope you will, that I bore you with all this matter.—If I was sure that you were giving up that office, I would not say another word.

Well then, I think anything like *abuse* is just as likely to effect your object with Pusey himself and his admirers, as the wind was likely, in contest with the sun, to blow off the traveller's coat. As to the quartern-loaf *τόπος*, if there is one thing more than another likely to shock and alienate those whom we wish to convert, it is to ridicule their objects of worship. It is wounding them in their most sensitive point. They may have a false conscience, but, if they are obeying it, it is laughing at them for being religious. For myself, I can recollect myself firmly believing that what your friend calls a piece of a quartern-loaf was, not only that, but the body of Christ—and, to my own *consciousness*, I as truly believed it and as simply adored it, as I do now the Blessed Sacrament on Catholic altars. And what I did then, I know many Anglicans do now. Moreover, as the writer confessed by saying that it was "probably" not more than bread, it is possibly, or even not impossibly, something more—or at least, though *I* may not think so, I cannot condemn another who does. Now I cannot see how laughing at a worship which has nothing laughable in it, and which, if not well founded, has no intrinsic incredibility, but is invalidated by purely historical considerations and ritual facts, how such a polemic has any tendency whatever to weaken the worshipper's belief in its truth and obligation. On the other hand I see that it would offend him just as much as the blasphemous bills upon the Dublin walls against Transubstantiation disgust and anger the Catholics who pass by. Such ridicule is not the weapon of those who desire to save souls. It repels and hardens.

And now to go on to Pusey. In like manner, abuse of him

will neither convert him nor any of his followers. I received an Oxford Undergraduate the other day—he was speaking of Pusey, and took occasion to say how young men revered him—chiefly for his very austere life, and his great meekness in controversy. He said that they could not bear to hear him spoken against. I do not call exposing a man's mistakes "speaking against him"—nor do I suppose any one would. But if, instead of exposing those errors in detail, and as matter of fact, in simple grave language, a controversialist *began* by saying "This man is absurd—he shuffles—he misrepresents—he is keeping men from the truth"—every word of it might be true, but I should say he was calling names, and indulging in abuse. For by abuse I mean accusation without proof—or condemnation before proof—and such a process of putting the cart before the horse defeats itself, and has no tendency to convince and persuade those whom it concerns.

I have not yet had an opportunity of reading Father Harper's book. I expect great instruction and pleasure in doing so, and I look with special interest at what comes from him from simple gratitude to him for some both kind and very seasonable letters I have had from him,—but I cannot deny I have been distressed at the tone he takes about Pusey, and for this plain reason, because I think he defeats his object by adopting it. What the *Guardian* said of his work illustrates what I mean. It dismissed a learned and (I am sure) convincing work with the remark "We need only say that the book is written in the controversial style of the 16th and 17th centuries," or words to that effect. This was a convenient, for it was a telling way, of getting rid of a formidable opponent. It was a very good excuse to its readers for not going into his arguments. It was just in the same way that Marshall's important work on Christian Missions was got rid of. His acrimony against Protestants was made the excuse of turning it aside. Excuse all this and believe me

Ever yours most sincerely in Xt.

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

P.S. I have no English of my notes. They are in French in the French Edition.

"Father Harper's book," here referred to, was the first part of *Peace through the Truth*, which appeared about this time in reply to Dr. Pusey's *Eirenicon*.

In the letter which follows we hear again of the notes upon the *Apologia*, prepared for French readers. They finally appeared in the December number, appended to an article entitled *The Apologia in France*. No hint was given that they were from Dr. Newman's own pen, but it was stated that they were not a retranslation from the French, the original English having been rendered available.

The Oratory B^m

Nov^r 4 /66.

My dear Fr. Coleridge,

As to the MS. of mine which H. Wilberforce has, my difficulty is, that I really am sure it is not worth publishing in England. It was written for France, where nothing is known about the Anglican Church. What would be useful there, would be a series of absurd truisms here. Again, I put down what to the best of my belief was true—was substantially true—but I did not verify by references every half sentence—therefore for what I know there are errors in details, which, though not such as to invalidate the statements I have made, might serve to make Anglicans angry, and give grounds for attacks.

These are my reasons—a publication, which is gratuitous, ought to be at least harmless. Again, if it is worth while adding it, I wrote for a French translation—and, for what I know, the *English* may be very incorrect in point of style.

If you use it, you must be so kind as to let me see a proof.

Have you heard the report that Canon Estcourt was going to bring out an Essay against Anglican Orders, and he came to some hitch which stopped him?

Ever yours most sincerely in Xt.

JOHN H. NEWMAN
of the Oratory.

The Oratory B^m

Nov^r 14 /66.

My dear Fr. Coleridge,

What you propose to do, both in itself and in reference to my paper, seems to me very good. At the same time, I really think my paper will be an encumbrance to the article.

Very sincerely yours

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

What Father Coleridge proposed to do was, clearly, to append Dr. Newman's notes for the information of foreigners, to his own article *The Apologia in France*, which was at this date about to appear, and of which he sent proofs, to Birmingham, as we see from Dr. Newman's next letter.

The O^y B^m Nov. 22 /66.

My dear Fr. Coleridge,

No one can find fault with your mode of speaking of Pusey in the inclosed article, if you are to be hostile to him, which you have quite a right to be, if you think you ought to be.

I have some corrections in my own part of the article, which I cannot help thinking are true to my MS. if I may trust my memory.

Ever yours sincerely in Xt.

JOHN H. NEWMAN,
of the Oratory.

This letter, the last which we have of 1866, is followed by a long interval during which although communications from Dr. Newman were frequent they did not relate to THE MONTH, but dealt with other topics which, interesting and important as they are, do not fall within the limits to which we must confine ourselves. We shall, accordingly, have to leave the year 1867 entirely blank, but with the early part of 1868 the correspondence is again largely concerned with our Magazine and the questions with which it had to deal. Here, therefore, we may conveniently pause for another month.

NOTE.

We have to plead guilty to an error in our previous article for which we have no excuse. It was stated (p. 12) that *The Workhouse*, a poem spoken of by Dr. Newman as sent to Father Coleridge, had never appeared in THE MONTH. As a kind correspondent points out to us it did in fact appear in the third volume, pp. 129—133.

From another correspondent we learn that the author of *The Workhouse* was, and still is, a member of the Birmingham Oratory.

We may likewise observe that, as we learn from various

sources, the expressions "to cog from," used by Newman, for which we confessed ourselves (p. 8) unable to discover other authority, is well-known in Irish schools in the sense of "to crib," and was so used thirty years ago in Trinity College, Dublin, itself. One correspondent suggests that Newman may have picked it up when in Ireland. Another remarks that Irish usage of such words is apt to represent the English of a somewhat earlier generation, so that we may possibly find in this instance a reminiscence of Oxford in Newman's undergraduate days.

Religion and Ethics.

IN a recent article we tried to show that unless we are prepared to cut our life free from all aspirations after a clearer knowledge of, and closer adjustment with, that realm of reality which is felt to be not only beyond but above us; unless we are ready to shear off every fringe of idealism from our earthly existence and to limit our progress to excursions in all directions over the plane of our present attainments, and to deny the utility and lawfulness of that craving for a higher mode of being and action which religion strives to satisfy, then must we admit that mysteries, equivalent to those of the Christian religion in point of intellectual embarrassment, are as needful and ordinary a part of our mental equipment as are the clear truths of positive science or history.

Those who would keep our noses to the earth and forbid star-gazing as an unhealthy and profitless curiosity, on the ground that we can know but little about the stars and can never get there, have fashioned a sort of Philistine common-sense ethics of their own, less earthy than it ought to be, thanks to surreptitious and unconscious pilferings from the discarded ethics of the star-gazers.

In this, their position is less incoherent than theirs who would retain Christian ethics while excluding Christian mysteries—all unaware that the two are connected as closely as the living body and the quickening soul. Every moral system is inspired by a certain view of man and of the world, as, for example, the earth-to-earth system of the last paragraph. Had Christ but put morality before us in examples, parables and symbols; did our dogmas and rites mean no more than this; had He given no new view of life and its meaning, we could not speak of *Christian* ethics as a special doctrine taught, but only as a special method of teaching—namely, by object-lessons and the like. Christianity cannot by any extravagance of rationalizing be thinned down to aught less than the love of God and man, and this affection

depends for its distinctive tone and character on an apprehension of other-world mysteries which when formulated must give us the equivalent of the Christian creed. Belief and affection correspond as closely, part for part, as the skeleton of an organism to the living tissues of which it is the framework. Impoverish the Christian creed, and the character of that love in which the eternal life of the soul consists will be correspondingly impoverished. Love is not a homogeneous thing subject only to alterations of quantity, but varies in kind according to every variation in our apprehension of the object and of our relation thereto.

The fundamental fallacy however of this attempt to bring Christianity within the limits of the bare understanding by reducing it to a doctrine and discipline of good conduct, lies in the confusion of the territory of ethics with that of religion, *i.e.*, of the outward life of conduct with the inward life of the affection which inspires that conduct—an affection which in turn gets its tone and character from certain beliefs and apprehensions. Let us try then to fix these boundaries as accurately as possible.

Grammar does not create the power of speech, but regulates and rationalizes it, and thereby multiplies its utility. Logic does not create the power of reasoning, but similarly, from the observation of natural laws, frames rules whereby we can govern the erratic workings of the untutored mind and catalogue our experience for more expeditious use than were else possible. In like manner ethics gives us a scheme of life and conduct and introduces order and reason into the workings of our various passions, affections, and springs of action, each of which would otherwise tend to assert itself at the expense of all the rest. When we speak of "self-government," we liken our impulses to a community of naturally selfish and lawless individuals, indifferent to the general good and to the interests of their fellow-subjects, and who need to be trained into a community of law-abiding, public-spirited men, capable of the sacrifices and restraints required by the universal welfare of the State. Now ethics aims not only at the ordering, but at the right ordering of our active impulses; at directing our life rationally to the right end by the right means.

But though it can control and modify, it cannot create these impulses. They are the material on which it has to work, which it has to shape and reform. The passions, in the Aristo-

telian system, were the "matter," the virtues were the "form" impressed upon that matter. Love, hate, desire, hope, fear, despair, anger, each of itself and in its own hour, would snatch the reins of government from the hands of reason; but justice, courage, self-restraint, were as fetters imposed by reason on their lawlessness. The primal impulse of man's action, of which all others are but derivations and phases, is Love,—not the mere animal passion, nor yet a wholly bloodless spiritual propension; but a love which, like man himself, is an embodied spirit, a rationalized sentiment, a blending of will and feeling. It may be roughly spoken of here as the attraction and affection of the will towards itself and towards other wills, human and divine; the tendency to draw all into one and to seek the good of all. I say "towards itself," for this tendency is the root of even the unselfish tendencies of love, the love of another being consequent on some instinct or intuition of identity. The unselfish are those who recognize this hidden identity most widely and deeply; who read the nature of their selfhood most truly; who can estimate the relation of their narrow isolated self to the universal community of selves, in such sort as to give it its due share of affection and no more, and to subordinate and sacrifice it to that general Self which is the adequate, supreme, and final object of each human heart, short of which its capacity of loving cannot be fully realized. Any narrower exercise of love is so far selfish, even though it be unselfish relatively to some still narrower love. Every kind of love, even the most selfish, exercises itself in beneficence towards its object; but this exercise is the consequence and fruit of love; not the thing itself. The separation between the affection of love and the apprehension by which it is excited, is a mere artifice of thought and speech; for love, as the action of a conscious being, involves perception; it is no more separable from that perception, nor that perception from it, than an embrace is from the object embraced. It is moreover a ceaseless ambulatory process in which perception and feeling act and react, each in turn drawing the other after it, and that other then reaching forward to some further stage of development. In the last analysis it will be found that every other life-process ministers to this; that all the labour of our thoughts and of our outward activity is subordinate to this labour, and is therefore relatively superficial; that love is the very substance of our spiritual life and being; that it is what we most really

are; that we feel our inmost self and being contracted, expanded, elevated or humbled, with the variations of our love in kind and in extension; now dwindling away to extinction, now re-enforced with an almost divine omnipotence, according as, in affection, we feel ourselves, now divided from, now united with, that multitude of righteous wills whereof the Divine Will is the irresistible central force. For convenience of clear thought and speech we break up this affection, which at any given moment is one and simple, into a sort of sum-total of affections—of likes and dislikes, hopes, fears, longings, and loathings—according to the infinite variety of persons and objects to which it has relation, and according to the various accentuations of which it becomes susceptible by being considered explicitly in relation to any one of these persons or objects. Also, since it is the product of all our past experience; since each new modification of its form, shapes and is shaped by all that went before; we split it up into imaginary layers answering to the moments of its formation. Yet in itself it is simple, absolutely unique and individualized; it is just the indivisible "Me,"—what I *am* here and now—and nothing more. It is my affective attitude towards myself and towards others, that constitutes my deepest life and reality;—my practical disposition, my effectual inclination in regard to self and God and man, in regard to all the interests of mankind, of the society in which I dwell, and of the individuals with whom I am in relation, in regard to all movements and schools and parties and to all those questions about which men are divided, in regard to all the great events and deeds of history, and to those governing personalities round whom men are clustered into opposing groups. It is this affection which is the source and the directive principle of the conduct in which my personality is manifested, and by which it is in turn built up. *Actio sequitur esse*; I act so, because I am so. Yet this outer conduct in which the self finds expression, needs the guidance of reason and understanding if it is to be determined, not by the uppermost facet of feeling, or with reference merely to the present object of explicit consideration, but by the interests of the full self,—conscious and subconscious—and with reference to the total practical situation, past, present, and future, with which it has to deal.

The outer rationalizing and regulating of conduct is the work of ethics and of *ascesis* or self-discipline. The Love or Affection, of which conduct is the expression, is however outside the sphere

of ethics as something pre-supposed—closely connected indeed, but distinct.

This deepest life of the soul belongs to the sphere of religion. Taking Christianity as the highest expression of religion, it is significant that Love or Charity is there regarded as synonymous with Eternal Life, with the life of religion. Yet not *any* love; still less, egotism or any selfish form of love; but the love of God and man taken together as one complete object.

Religion on its doctrinal side offers a theory of the nature of the powers of the invisible world and of man's relation to them, and prescribes the rules which should regulate his intercourse with them. It is always based on the disparity between man's desires and his means of realizing them; on his discontent with the present limitations of his being, and his wish to share the nature of the gods, their power, their knowledge, their immortality, their ecstatic bliss. In its very rudest forms we may trace some perversion of this straining towards the Absolute. Even as a phase of the public life, a religion usually feeds on the hope of some coming general transformation of present conditions, some golden age or Messianic millenium, a new Jerusalem, a new heaven and earth, a *vita venturi seculi*. That the teaching of Christ was altogether inspired and dominated by the thought of the final renovation of all things is the conviction both of naïve piety and of the sharpest criticism. It was only in a more spiritual conception of the Kingdom of Heaven and of its conditions that His doctrine differed from that of the Jewish Messianic hopes. These, again, find their grosser analogues in many a ruder faith. The attempt to treat the prescriptions and restraints which religion imposes on conduct as "their own reward," and not also as conditioning a future reward; to place the Kingdom of Heaven already "within us" so exclusively as almost to deny that future Kingdom which is above and outside us; to view it not as the secret seed or germ of a new kind of existence, but as merely the natural perfection of our rational and social life—all this means an accommodation, a "climbing down," a shrinking from mystery; it means a reduction of religion to ethics.

By pitting critic against critic, e.g., Dr. Harnack against Dr. J. Weiss, we can get a confirmation of our position. The former finds the essence of Christ's religious teaching in the almost natural truth of God's universal fatherhood and man's universal brotherhood, in the purely inward reign of love in the individual soul. If Christ seemed

to accept and preach the current Messianic beliefs in a general and outward Kingdom of God and a coming miraculous transformation of earthly conditions, it was but as a veil or symbol of this ethico-religious truth of the inward kingdom. The other, less *à priori*, critic finds it not hard to establish from the internal evidence of the Synoptic Gospels that this same universal transformation of human conditions, this outward miraculous triumph of the Kingdom of God over the kingdom of Satan was not something accidental, but was the very centre and substance of Christ's message to which all His moral and spiritual teaching was subordinated. The synthesis is not far to seek in the light of our previous articles on *Mysteries as a Necessity of Life*. Undoubtedly Christ's principal aim was to fix our hearts on a future life, now dimly anticipated in thought and sentiment, and to shape our conduct to its attainment. Of the precise nature of those future conditions which eye hath not clearly seen nor heart conceived He speaks to us only in the apocalyptic language of current Messianic prophecies, spiritualized no doubt to some degree yet still expressed in terms of sense. What the new heaven and earth may mean, what, to eat bread and to drink new wine in the Kingdom of God, or to sit down to meat with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob may signify, we cannot say except that some abrupt and general renovation is implied. Life and environment being correlatives, He foretells a new environment or world for which we must begin to prepare ourselves; but the *clear* part of His teaching is that which deals with this preparation; whereas that world to come is shown to us only in terms of mystery. The righteousness of the Law, as interpreted by the Pharisees could prepare men only for a grossly conceived Kingdom of God. The inward spirit of grace and love, the practical apprehension of God's fatherhood and man's brotherhood, this alone, and not rites or sacrifices, could prepare men for the true Kingdom of God. From the spiritualizing of the preparatory condition we can infer a corresponding, though as yet mysterious, spiritualizing of the conception of the coming Kingdom. Instinctive or natural appetites are not roused by a foregoing clear idea of their end and object; rather, it is by obeying their blind impulses that their end is at last revealed to us after many imperfect essays and guesses. So, with the religious instinct and the impulses of grace; it is from the nature and the tendency of the commands of conscience that we gradually infer the nature of the Kingdom of Conscience—of that spiritual Commonwealth whose general interests they serve; we construct for ourselves some scheme of things that will explain and regulate our spiritual experiences—a scheme ever inadequate, yet ever nearer to the hidden truth as our experiences are deeper, higher, and wider. The words "Kingdom of Heaven" and the imagery they stand for, were common to Christ and to the Pharisees, but the sense differed in the same measure as the law of love differed from the law of observances; or as the Father of all mankind differed from the God of a single people.

What Dr. Harnack considers the essence of the Kingdom of God is therefore but the condition; it is an imperfect mode of life, of knowledge, of action which will receive its full development in an altogether new environment hereafter. The "Kingdom of Heaven," on Christ's lips, stands directly neither for that inchoative eternal life of faith and charity in the individual, nor even for its ultimate development, but for its future environment—for that will-world of which God is the central sun, for the society and communion of the saints. Here and now, good-will plainly languishes out of its proper environment; it obstructs and is obstructed; is often less effectual for social good than is its contrary. It clamours therefore against the perpetuation of the anomaly and, as a pilgrim and stranger on earth, looks for a city whose builder and maker is God. "It plainly serves no earthly end; there must therefore be some over-earthly world whose end it serves." (Fichte.) In Dr. Harnack's view, so far as the "Kingdom of Heaven" is a hope of the future it is to be but a spreading and deepening of the interior life of Christian love; not an as yet mysterious transformation of that life under the influence of a new and altogether congenial environment. No doubt the notion of the Kingdom of Heaven as a mere reward of the interior life, analogous to the sugar-plums that a child gets for being good, is absolutely false and unworthy of the Gospel. There is a true sense in which "virtue is its own reward" and seeks only "the glory of going on and still to be;" for it would cease to be virtue in ceasing to be disinterested. Still this same disinterested love of objective right and reason, this faith in the cause of God, makes its demand of the Heavenly Kingdom—its *Non moriar sed vivam*—all the more imperious. That Kingdom can no more be the creation of our spirit, than the physical world is the creation of our bodies; both life and environment are from God. But that new mode of life in which present mysteries shall give place to vision, and vague aspirations to attainment is causally continuous with that interior life we now lead as Christians; not however a mere extension and deepening of it, as Dr. Harnack implies, but a development and transformation such as that which changes the grub into the moth.

Still it is the very foretasting in brief occasional ecstasies or in quieter daily experiences of that better sort of life, given to us even now in germ, that founds our hope in its future fulness and leads us to some construction of the over-world that shall explain and regulate these experiences, and shall be the natural environment of the "spirits of just men made perfect."

To say that this germinal life consists in the love of God and of man in God may seem very unjustifiable, seeing how loveless and full of fear most religions are and have been. Yet we are justified in defining religion by what it is in its perfection

and fulness, and not by what it is in embryo or in decay ; by that religion which tells us that "God is Love," and that our relation to Him, and through Him to our fellow-man, should be one of love. The fact that love, especially in its higher manifestations, is of a somewhat mystical and reason-defying character, both as to its motives and precise aims ; that it tends to burst through bonds of time and space ; that it is intuitive, clairvoyant, prophetic ; that it overcomes individual separateness and welds multitudes into units ; that, in short, it transforms, elevates, reinforces all the powers of the soul with the infusion of a new kind of life—all this points to it as best satisfying and explaining that yearning for a more absolute mode of life which lies at the root of every religion from the lowest to the highest. But, though the life of religion is the life of love, the converse is not true. The affection which draws us into union with other wills, however catholic and world-encompassing, is not religion till God is explicitly recognized as the Source and the End, the Centre and the Circumference of the whole will-world, to be loved in all and with all and over all ; and all others in Him and with Him and under Him. It is this apprehension of Faith which gives birth to Charity, or to Eternal Life, through which man begins to attain his deepest reality.

Once more, be it noted again that this Love must be distinguished from its fruit and effect ; from those works and manifestations of love which are controlled by ethical theory and self-discipline. It consists in the "being affected" towards God and man ; in the sum-total of attractions exercised by, and upon, the will in relation to other wills ; in the resultant position of its orbit in the whole will-system of which God is the central sun. To regulate and determine this affection, is the work of religion ; to regulate the conduct in which this affection expresses itself, is the work of ethics. The one deals with the underlying substance of our spiritual life, the other with its outward self-manifestation. Hence it is that all virtues, theological or civil, belong to the sphere of religion in so far as they all spring from a certain affection towards God and man ; and to the sphere of ethics in so far as they all involve a theory of duty and a habit of dutifulness. Yet since the theological virtues demand a theory of our relations and duties to God, they are rightly considered "religious" virtues ; while those that more directly determine our duties to man are called civic. The problem therefore of the relation of religion to ethics is not that of the relation of the

theological to the cardinal virtues, nor of grace to nature. In substance, it is that of the relation of good-will to good works; of the will-to-be-just, to the knowledge and to the performance of what is just; of the underlying life of affection, to its outward expression in conduct.

Much confusion would be avoided did we but clearly distinguish between the religious (or quasi-religious) motive of moral goodness, and its strictly ethical factors or components; between the affection of love and good-will towards others—God and our fellow-men—that makes us desire to serve them; and the knowledge and self-discipline by which that desire is directed and rendered efficacious in conduct.

Religion in its highest form is absolutely inseparable from the *desire* of universal service and from the *effort* to render that service efficacious; but it is separable and often separate from a successful issue of that effort. It is compatible with various degrees of ethical ignorance and of imperfect self-discipline. The most earnest will to do what is right by God and man, does not always, or at once, perfect the understanding with a corresponding knowledge, or discipline the impulses into obedient accord with such knowledge. On the other hand, such knowledge and self-discipline may at times obtain where the good-will is weak or entirely wanting, or may survive its extinction. It is this fact that justifies a distinction between even the highest form of religion and morality; for we cannot call a man moral who simply wills to be moral, until he has brought his will to effect; just as we cannot call a beggar rich, merely because he sincerely desires to be rich. Hence the saying that "there is no real goodness but the goodness of the will," means that ethical goodness belongs to man's surface-life, and not to his real, that is, to his religious life. In this way too we can justify the somewhat dangerous and scandalous paradox, that the most immoral and vicious profligate, touched by but a spark of grace, in the first moment of his conversion, with all his depraved ethical estimates, and with all his uncured evil habits still clinging to him like filthy rags, is a better man and moves in a higher spiritual plane, than one without religion whose blameless character has been most exactly formed and finished according to the highest known standards of merely ethical perfection. If by a "spark of grace" we mean a rudimentary love of God above all things and of man for God's sake, it is plain that he who possesses this is a better man really

and religiously, though not ethically, than one who lacks it. But the very possession of it involves a sincere desire of that ethical perfection which alone can give effect to this love of God and man. Whether indeed the fullest ethical perfection can be reached and maintained apart from religion is a difficult problem; but at all events many of the conditions, such as intelligence, education, temporal sufficiency, bodily health, public standards, gifts of temperament, external protection from evil, and so forth, have little to do with good-will.

This separation of charity, or the life of religion, from the ethical life plainly lends no handle to antinomianism, which can creep in only where the life of religion is made to consist exclusively in something else than love—in external observances, or in a fruitless orthodoxy, or in a blind sense of justification, or in some metaphysical *qualitas mortua*.

For though distinct and to some degree, as has been said, separable, charity and ethics belong to one another. Nothing could be less reconcilable with Christ's appeal to the observable fruits of His religion, to that light which is to shine before men as well as before God, than the notion that Christianity has no essential relation with the ethical, social, and political morality of mankind, or that the seed of eternal life in the soul is a purely mystical entity bearing no sensible fruit in the perfection of character.

Not only does religion create, maintain, and foster the ethical desire and effort to find out and do what is right by God and man, what is best for society, and for the individual as a member and servant of society; but to some extent it inspires and guides the process of ethical advance. It is a matter of common and constant observation that love quickens perception in its own interests; that it is fertile in suggestion, intuitive in selection, vigorous in execution; that its instincts are surer than the laboured inferences of cold reason. It is strictly an *inspiring* influence, in that it enlarges the power of apprehension and gives a magical skill in dealing with the results of such apprehension. An affection, as such, cannot add to the stock of our knowledge, directly; but it can and does stimulate and guide our natural faculty of acquiring knowledge in a way that is equivalent to a new revelation.

This is true of any love, and especially of that universal love of God and man in which the eternal life of religion

consists. That love, in the measure that it has prevailed in the human heart, has been an inspiring influence guiding the course of ethical evolution in its own interests; correcting the first rude efforts of primitive society, in accordance with better knowledge of the true conditions of man's happiness and well-being; comparing code with code, choosing and rejecting in view of its single end and aim; lending its sanction to this law or that, as more—if not absolutely or finally—accordant with the exigencies of religion. Ethics, no less than logic, or grammar or physical science, is a gradual product of the collective reason and experience of mankind, whose origins, as we have indicated, were humble enough and whose history is a history of purification, correction, and enlargement, guided by experience. Yet unlike logic or science, its close connection with religion brings it under the influence of divine inspiration, in such sort that many of its conclusions may be said to be inspired by religion, and to belong, at least indirectly, to the sphere of revelation.

No doubt the central purpose of Christ's mission was to give men "power to become the sons of God," to lead a divine and superhuman life; to "show us the Father," to reveal to us the true structural and dynamic relations of the Kingdom of Heaven—of that spiritual world of wills, in which we are all destined to be bound together hereafter by the bond of charity or grace, in God and with God, and to find eternal life in that union. But in thus bringing religion to its highest expression, He indirectly fixed the rule of ethical criticism, and gave a new impetus, as well as a new direction, to the progress of ethical thought. The contention of those who would make Christ primarily a moral teacher, a social and political reformer, cannot be maintained, as even so rationalizing a theologian as Harnack in his *Wesen des Christenthums* has elaborately demonstrated. Yet to make Him the preacher of a purely internal Kingdom of Heaven, of a merely theistic doctrine of God's fatherhood already familiar to the Jews, to view what we call the Second Advent as an accident and not as the very centre and substance of His message, implies a sophistical reading of the Gospel and of early Church history. A coming transformation of humanity and of heaven and earth was the revealed fact in the light of which men's conduct was to be shaped and reformed: "Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand." To define the end is to define the means. The belief that the Judgment was near,

"even at the very gates," was an accidental and doubtless providential circumstance which, like a sudden nearness to death, did not materially alter men's duties, but roused them to a realization of what those duties were. It gave force to Christ's message, as an epidemic would to the *Memento mori* of a mission-preacher. Be it near or far men should live as though death were near; that is, with a light hold on things transitory. Were there no hereafter, death's nearness would paralyze our energies, or drive us to a *Carpe diem* scramble for pleasure; but for those who view life as a seed-sowing for eternity that same nearness is an incentive to work while it is yet day ere the night cometh. So, too, the permitted belief in the nearness of the *parousia*—which is to the race what death is to the unit—brought home its practical lesson of a detached yet energetic use of life and its opportunities to the vivid consciousness of the early Church, and thus gave to Christian ethics that specific tone and character, midway between the listless pessimism of the Buddhist and the fatuous optimism of the worldling; opposing to the one its *Negotiamini dum venio*, and to the other, its *Præterit figura hujus mundi*; using, but as not using; having, but as not having.

Had this belief in its nearness not obtained, the doctrine of the Kingdom would not have been thus translated into action and feeling and life, nor have given to the Christian ethical tradition that permanent impress which a sudden death-panic has given to many a man on the very threshold of a long life.

In showing the true relation of religion to morality, in answer to those who say that religion as such has nothing to do with morality, we have incidentally answered those who define religion as "morality tinged with emotion," and who thus make morality the very substance of religion.¹

Christ made no claim to be an innovator in the field of

¹ We need not deny all merit to Matthew Arnold's definition, for it rightly recognizes that for lack of a certain accompanying sentiment or emotion, a cold stoical morality is not religion. But he tells us nothing of the object or nature of this emotion, and seems to regard it as a mere decoration of morality, a glow of enthusiasm in the cause of morality. He does not explain it as that affection or love which binds a man to God and to his fellows, and which is the very substance of the life of religion; and of which morality is the due though absolutely separable decoration. Still less does he remember that such an affection gets its whole shape and character from some unformulated view of the spiritual order which, if formulated, would be called dogma. Using his own style, we might rather define religion as: "Divine love, making for righteousness or morality."

ethics, still less in that of sociology or of politics. They "of old time" to whom He opposed many of His precepts were those who had perverted the original sense and spirit of the law to which He now recalled men. Of such perversions He says: "But in the beginning it was not so." The "great commandment" was already on the lips, if not in the hearts, of all, and had been for centuries; and the Beatitudes were to be gleaned from the Psalms and the Prophets. Yet His attitude towards matters of conduct was not of such complete aloofness and indifference as it was in regard to questions not bearing directly on man's moral life. He had no mission whatever to reform men's historical, scientific, or metaphysical opinions; He accepted passively, and in His speech assumed without criticism, the notions current among His hearers. We have no discourse upon these subjects analogous to the Sermon on the Mount. Yet in that discourse He does not innovate, but selects and brings together all that was best in the best ethical systems of those days: He brings the criterion of that divine charity—of that effectual love which seeks the glory of God in the perfection of man—to bear upon those systems; He harks back to the principle that love is the motive and end of the law, the sovereign rule of ethical truth; and by that rule He criticizes, chooses and corrects, and gives us not merely a system of Christian ethics but a method whereby that system is to be developed and perfected as long as time shall last.

To the infinite complications of rabbinical casuistry He opposes the simplicity of the rule of love; and in reducing all the commandments to one: Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and thy neighbour as thyself—He gives us "a new commandment" only in the sense of sweeping all commandments aside in favour of the principle whereof they are but the application, and in virtue of which alone they have any true moral value. He recalls the casuists back to the origin and the end of the law—namely, the service of man. The law, like the Sabbath, is made for man and not man for the law—still less, for the lawyers. Man is the lord of the Sabbath, as he is the lord of everything that exists simply for his own service and use. Christ came, not to destroy the old-time ethic system, but to expurgate and extend it. It was right in forbidding murder; yet a more disinterested and universal love of humanity should have taught it that the inward breach of affection was an equal offence in the spiritual world—an attempt to cut one's brother

off from that living communion of united wills and hearts in which our deepest life is realized. It was right in forbidding the outward injustice of adultery, but a truer charity would have seen an equal guilt in the mere "will-schism" which is implied in the desire of injustice. To love our neighbour is good; but the love of humanity as such, not only forbids the hatred, but enjoins the love of one's enemy. We may indeed assert our rights and claim our dues; but let all self be purged out of our zeal, and let us see that our love of justice and the common good is so disinterested that, as far as we are concerned, we should willingly suffer wrong for love of those who wrong us.

And so throughout, no wholly new precept is given; but those current are criticized and sorted by the criterion of that "new commandment" which is new not absolutely, but relatively to the oblivion into which it is ever falling through the corruptions of legalism and casuistry. "No new commandment," says St. John, "but an old commandment which ye had from the beginning;" for, like the law of divorce, the whole system of legalism was conceived by Christ as a concession to man's corruption, *propter duritiam cordis*: "But from the beginning it was not so." He considered that He was but calling men back to the long-forgotten origin and motive of all laws, ethical precepts, and prohibitions.

Nor is St. Paul, that first great commentator of the Gospel, less, but rather more, explicit. His antithesis of Grace (or Charity) and the Law all turns on the same distinction between the religious and the ethical life, and on the complete subordination of the latter to the former. Love, he says, is the fulfilling of the Law, because love worketh no ill to its neighbour. Love is the quickening spirit, without which the dead letter slayeth.

The substance of the Christian revelation is that insight into the nature of God and man and of their mutual relations here and hereafter which stimulates and characterizes the sentiment of divine charity. It gives us no new information in the sphere of ethical, social, or political morality, any more than in questions of history, science, or metaphysics. But it gives us a criterion—a principle of guidance and selection—under whose influence Christianity is able to fashion an ethical system for itself—a system inspired, so to say, by Christian charity or love; in which system we are to seek the inspired element in the form

rather than in the matter; in the tendency rather than in the point attained; in the process of production rather than in that which is actually produced. There is, and there can be, no finality in ethics. As long as the world lasts; as long as the character of society changes from one form to another in the course of its necessary evolution, there will be need of this work of criticism and selection. Not only will social and political transformations bring a corresponding transformation of rights and duties, but the growth of knowledge and experience will necessarily correct the ethical ideas of the past, and determine more wisely what is really best for the individual and for society. And this, after all, is the sole aim of ethical inquiry. We have seen Christ correcting the ethics of "them of old time," but we must not forget that there is no finality in the matter and that our own code, though better, cannot be the best possible. On the contrary, it still contains many a dead letter, many a taboo or observance which has long survived its original justification, if it ever had any. Through the *jus civile* of Rome, through the ethical traditions of Athens, we inherit many notions of right and wrong which are dependent on an essentially pagan conception of society and of the individual; which are dictated by a far narrower view of the *Bonum Publicum* than Christianity, with its world-embracing charity, has given us. In other words, the confused mass of our ethical, and still more, of our social and political, traditions, is, as yet, but imperfectly leavened with the spirit of the Gospel. Christ has given us the modifying principle and shown us how to apply it, by applying it Himself to the ethics of His own time. He has "shown us the Father" and the coming Kingdom and the will of His Father, namely, that men should love one another as the children of that one Father, as co-heirs of that Kingdom, and that therefore they should seek only what is best here and hereafter for each and all. But it is left for the labour of man's natural reason, stimulated and guided by charity, to find out by reflection and experiment what that best really is, and what are the means by which it can be realized.

It is not hard then to discern what we might call the inspired and eternal elements of the Christian ethics, from the rational and variable elements. All those corrections which the spirit of love has introduced into the notions of "them of old time;" everything that is truly an advance on previous standards so far as it excludes something faulty or points the way towards still

further refinements; in short, every modification due to the influence of religion and charity is not of man, but of God. But the matter so modified, the mass of precepts and prohibitions handed down from prehistoric times, and gathering in bulk and force from century to century, this is the result of human experience and reflection and of human credulity and ignorance. To winnow the chaff from the grain is the task of Christian reason aided by the breath of God's spirit.

G. TYRRELL.

Sir Walter Scott and Mediæval Catholicism.

THERE is perhaps no mark by which the century which has just closed is more strikingly distinguished from its predecessors, than the keen interest which it has taken in forms of life and civilization widely different from its own. The eighteenth century—ignoring, with a cheerful self-complacency not far short of the sublime, every province of human nature which did not fall within the scope of a highly artificial state of society—was content to brand all phases of mediæval life and thought alike as barbarous and “Gothic.” That civilized beings, who wore hoops and periwigs—who haunted coffee-houses, and read the works of the ingenious Mr. Addison—could seriously interest themselves in the doings of a set of barbarians in plate and mail, or sympathize with the benighted enthusiasm of monks and Crusaders, would have seemed to them an idea too preposterous to contemplate.

But at length, towards the close of the century, the inevitable reaction set in. The eighteenth century grew tired of its hoops and its powder, its masques and its coffee-houses, and began to look about it, in search of something newer and more romantic. It built sham castles in the Gothic style; it even stooped to collect antiquities; it edited, in a somewhat shame-faced and half-hearted fashion, our noble old English ballads; and it ventured, in the persons of Horace Walpole, Mrs. Radcliffe, and others, into the fields of mediæval romance. Among all these various attempts, it is probable that the publication of the first collection of ancient ballads—little noticed as it was at the time—had a more potent effect upon our literature than any of the others; for without Percy's *Reliques*, and the influence which, as he has himself recorded, they exercised over his childish mind, it is not impossible that it might never have been enriched by the works of Walter Scott.

When we examine either the poetry or the novels of Scott,

we are struck instantly by one great difference between him and his predecessors in the realm of mediæval fiction. Both Horace Walpole and Mrs. Radcliffe, to say nothing of their numerous imitators, had not the slightest idea that they were violating probability in ascribing to the men and women of bygone ages thoughts and feelings exactly similar to their own. Theodore and Matilda, in *The Castle of Otranto*, are precisely such a pair of young lovers as might have been encountered anywhere in Walpole's day. Emily, in *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, is the model young lady of the eighteenth century. When we put the crude efforts of these writers beside the works of Scott, the immense superiority of the latter becomes at once apparent. It is true that the portrait with which he presents us of what another author has called "the coarse and stormy Middle Age" is, to a certain extent, a softened one. This fault, however, is one for which it is hardly fair to hold him responsible. If, in order to please the taste of an ultra-fastidious generation, he was compelled to tone down the brutality and ferocity of those mediæval champions whom their contemporaries glorified as the flower of chivalry, the blame ought surely to be laid upon a public which insisted on insipidity in its heroes—a fact of which, as we know, Scott bitterly complained. And the writer who could draw for us such a character as that of Front-de-Bœuf, in *Ivanhoe*—such a scene as that of Rothsay starving in his dungeon, in *The Fair Maid of Perth*—can scarcely be accused of deliberately ignoring the darkest features of the Middle Age.

Certain it is that the picture which Scott gives us of the men and women who lived and moved in those stormy times is one which has never been approached in vividness, whatever may be said for the painter's accuracy in matters of historical and archæological detail. In this last respect Scott, notoriously, often went astray; but it may be questioned if this fault is really as grave a one as some of his critics seem to think. If a writer enlarges our sympathies—if he stimulates our imagination—if, above all things, he brings home to us the great truth, that the forefathers whose blood flows in our own veins were men of like passions with ourselves—it matters comparatively little whether or not he clothes his warriors in plate-armour a century or two before the garb was known, introduces Franciscans before the birth of their founder, or refers to Jesuits at a time when St. Ignatius was in his cradle. "The letter killeth;" and it is to be feared that some modern

novelists, in their anxiety to avoid Scott's errors, have gone to the opposite extreme. We have accumulated a vast stock of information, unknown to his contemporaries, as to the ways and customs of our ancestors; and the effect of this increased knowledge is often to concentrate our attention on points of difference which are more or less trifling, and to obscure our perception of the thoughts and feelings which we have in common with those of another age. In spite of all our research, I doubt if we are not further from realizing the fact that our forefathers were not waxwork puppets, but living figures of flesh and blood, than we should have been in Scott's day.

It is, of course, impossible for any author to describe the life of the pre-Reformation period, without the portrait being deeply coloured by the view he takes of the Catholic Church; and it is exactly his treatment of Catholicism which some may be disposed to consider Scott's weakest point. It is true that, in this respect, he laboured under many disadvantages. His prejudices were strong; his ignorance of Catholic faith and practice almost rivalled that of the late Mr. Kensit; and he had, to a marked degree, the eighteenth century habit of including every kind of spiritual exaltation in one sweeping condemnation as "enthusiasm." Against all these drawbacks he had only two advantages to set; first, the powerful fascination which certain aspects of Catholicism, so far as he understood them, undoubtedly exercised over one side of his mind; and last, but by no means least, his chivalrous spirit, and strong sense of fairness.

I do not know any of Scott's novels in which this strength and weakness of his are so strikingly displayed, as in the two wherein he attempts to deal with the period of the Scottish Reformation — *The Monastery* and *The Abbot*. He tells us, in the Introduction to *The Monastery*, that the general plan of the story was, "to conjoin two characters in that bustling and contentious age, who, thrown into situations which give them different views on the subject of the Reformation, should, with the same sincerity and purity of intention, dedicate themselves, the one to the support of the sinking fabric of the Catholic Church, the other to the establishment of the Reformed doctrines. It was supposed," he goes on, "that some interesting subjects for narrative might be derived from opposing two such enthusiasts to each other in the path of life, and contrasting the real worth of both with their passions and prejudices." And

this is what Scott, in the novel, honestly endeavours to do ; though it is curious to notice how, as he proceeds, the natural bent of his mind towards romantic narrative diverts him from his original purpose ; the result being a very picturesque and exciting story, in which, however, the figures of the Sub-Prior and Henry Warden, intended at first to be so important, fall into an entirely subordinate place. Still, the outlines of both portraits are filled in sufficiently to reveal very clearly the secret of Scott's success, and of his failure, in dealing with characters of this type. The enthusiasm of the Crusaders, mingled as it was with martial ardour, he could, to a certain extent, appreciate ; but when he attempts to describe natures such as those of the Sub-Prior or Edward Glendinning, the reader has throughout an exasperating consciousness that the motive which formed the mainspring of the man's conduct, and the key to his whole character, is one which his creator has completely failed to comprehend. The fact is, that the root of Scott's inability to understand religious enthusiasm lay in the natural constitution of his mind, and went very much deeper than any prejudice against the Catholic Church ; and the proof of this is, that his lack of success was at least equally conspicuous when he dealt with visionaries of a very different school. The present writer has always thought the figure of Cromwell, in *Woodstock*, one of Scott's very few failures in historical portraiture ; and if he conquered this disability—as I think he did—in *Old Mortality*, it was probably because he had the whole weight of local tradition at his back.

But if *The Monastery* and *The Abbot* tend to illustrate this defect of Scott's, they also bring out, in striking fashion, his corresponding virtue ; that scrupulous sense of fairness to which I have before alluded. His own religious prejudices, as well as those of the public for which he wrote, led him unconsciously to soften down the bigotry of the Protestant Reformer, Henry Warden ; and it is greatly to the credit of his standard of justice, that he should have performed a like process on behalf of his antagonist. Almost any other writer of the period, who had been reared amid surroundings similar to his, would have given us, in the figure of the Sub-Prior, an absurd and repulsive caricature ; the portrait he draws for us is that of a high-minded and honourable man, whose views he is certainly incapable of comprehending, but to whose moral qualities he does full justice. It is, indeed, curious to observe

that, with the exception of the Knights Templars—against whom, for some reason, he appears to have entertained a violent prejudice—his pictures of Catholic monks and ecclesiastics are generally more or less sympathetic. And even his Templars are not depicted as wholly devoid of good qualities. Lucas Beaumanoir, with all his grim fanaticism, is a well-meaning zealot; Scott was far above the ignorant bigotry which makes Maturin, and others of the same epoch, unable to draw a monk or a priest who is not an ambitious hypocrite. And the same spirit of fairness pervades his treatment of the monastic communities, both in *The Monastery* and *The Abbot*. In an age when the vulgar conception of the monks as a set of idle drones was so widely prevalent, it is not a little to Scott's credit that he should have been able to perceive the other side of the question. No doubt the sense of chivalry, which he inherited from his Border ancestors, had something to do with the matter; but it is impossible not to think that the man who wrote the description of the Abbot Ambrosius rebuking the lawless revellers who had broken into the church of Kennaquhair, must have been sensible of the justice of the complaint which he puts into his mouth.

"And will you, my friends," said the Abbot, looking round and speaking with a vehemence which secured him a tranquil audience for some time, "will you suffer a profane buffoon, within the very church of God, to insult His ministers? Many of you—all of you, perhaps—have lived under my holy predecessors, who were called upon to rule in this church where I am called upon to suffer. If you have worldly goods, they are their gifts; and when you scorned not to accept better gifts—the mercy and forgiveness of the Church—were they not ever at your command?—did we not pray while you were jovial—wake while you slept? . . . What!" said he, "and is this grateful—is it seemly—is it honest—to assail with scorn a few old men, from whose predecessors you hold all, and whose only wish is to die in peace among these fragments of what was once the light of the land, and whose daily prayer is, that they may be removed ere that hour comes when the last spark shall be extinguished, and the land left in the darkness which it has chosen rather than light? We have not turned against you the edge of the spiritual sword, to revenge our temporal persecution; the tempest of your wrath hath despoiled us of land, and deprived us almost of our daily food, but we have

not repaid it with the thunders of excommunication,—we only pray your leave to live and die within the church which is our own, invoking God, our Lady, and the Holy Saints, to pardon your sins, and our own, undisturbed by scurril buffoonery and blasphemy."

The whole scene, with the exception perhaps of a few phrases, might have been depicted by a devout Catholic.

There is a striking scene towards the close of *The Monastery*, where the Abbot Eustatius confronts Murray and his followers; but there, at least, Scott's chivalry was backed by his sturdy patriotism. This last characteristic comes out strongly in the attitude he assumes towards some of the Scottish Reformers; whom, even while he sympathizes with their zeal, he cannot avoid blaming, for establishing "a foreign and a hostile interest in the councils of Scotland."

For the sake of such passages as these, we can afford to forgive all Scott's mistakes and weaknesses—the strong prejudice he occasionally displays—his truly colossal ignorance as to the doctrines of the Catholic Church—and the ready belief which he yields to the grossest popular errors; as when, in *Marmion*, he gives a fresh lease of life to that most extraordinary of anti-Catholic bogeys, the myth of the "immured nun." It may truly be said of Scott, as it has been of many other great men, that his faults were those of his age, his virtues all his own. And surely Catholics owe a great debt of gratitude to the man who, however imperfect and erroneous his guidance, was yet the first to lead the steps of his Protestant countrymen back to those "dark ages," which, for so many centuries, they had ignorantly scorned. The works of Scott may be said to be the precursors of that new Renaissance—that revival of interest in the faith and practices of the mediæval Church—which had its outcome in the Tractarian Movement, which produced the poems of Keble, and later on, the novels of Miss Yonge. Much of the good which he did was, no doubt, unintentional—the inevitable result of the glamour of romance which he cast over everything connected with a bygone age. But even more is due to the chivalrous love of fair-play—to the generous sympathy with a brave opponent—to the sturdy honesty and sense of rectitude, which refused to blacken even an enemy, and made Scott labour to do the fullest justice to those with whom he had least in common. If the British public has, in a great measure, shaken off the crude prejudices of the eighteenth

century with regard to the Catholic Church; if it has slowly awakened to the fact that every monk is not necessarily a lazy hypocrite, nor every Catholic layman a Jesuit in disguise—the change is, in no small degree, owing to the influence of Walter Scott.

T. ELLIOT RANKEN.

The French Government and the Teaching Congregations.

[COMMUNICATED.]

THE task of defending the present victims of secular fanaticism in France—if only from a liberal and undenominational standpoint—is a dismal one, happily relieved by a tinge of humour. There is cause for profound sadness from many aspects, although the leading feature of depression may be summarized in the progressive elimination of the religious factor from a country wherein—as the late M. de Blowitz strikingly put it in his farewell contribution to *The Times* of December 31st last—"the advance of the new morality governed only by pleasure, foreshadows a moment when family ties will become a simple fiction, and when, unless a radical change intervenes, society will have atheism as a basis and voluptuousness as a summit."

But the Jacobin triumph is achieved, and it would be waste of words to lament its probable results—however lamentable—since no more substantial mode of resistance has been devised by the boasted descendants of the French Crusaders than the peculiarly Gallic as well as Platonic hobby of petition-signing, together with an unhealthy if perhaps inevitable compromise with the discredited banner of nationalism and the colourless banner of the House of Orleans. Truly, the bearers of the latter do not seem to shine under fire or roof of any kind!

One touch of comfort, I might almost say of cheerfulness—for the mere suggestion casts some doubt upon the finality of the aforesaid triumph—is afforded by the slipperiness of the foundations and the elasticity of the methods on which that triumph relies. Indeed, as regards the logic of the French Government's position, I am tempted to apply the famous Girondin axiom apropos of the excesses of the *Terreur*: "La Révolution est comme Saturne, Elle dévore ses propres

enfants!" It is here, too, that the irony of the situation appeals to our sense of humour. Were M. Combes' repeated denunciations of the casuistic teachings of the Seminary justified in fact he would thereby incur the reproach of ingratitude towards the philosophic armoury of his youth, whence he would seem to have borrowed his present weapon!

For, on what grounds did the French Ministry advise the subservient *Chambres* to reject the congregationist demands for authorization?

The first group of Congregations, consisting mainly of those devoted to preaching and mission work, were condemned as injurious both to the welfare of the parochial pulpit and clergy—a spiritual solicitude which in the mouth of free-thinkers lends itself to treatment in Gilbertian rhyme!—and to public security, menaced by their alleged political agitations. These two charges having been comprehensively dealt with by Father Gerard in this Review, some twelve months since, I will only adduce the expulsion of foreign communities quartered in France on one hand, and the retention of French communities quartered in the colonies or abroad on the other, as a graphic illustration of the fact that the French Government is not invariably guided in its conduct by consideration of political interference on the part of the Regulars, but inclines moreover to regard with favour that very influence when it is in harmony with its own aspirations.

It is, however, on the Congregations of the teaching group that I particularly wish to dwell, and this for two principal reasons. We may hope, without being too sanguine, that the keener awakening of intellectual thought and of the spirit of self-sacrifice among the parochial clergy may to a large extent compensate the disappearance of the accomplished "regular" preachers; but no such remedy can be looked for in the case of the suppressed "regular" educationists. No substitute can be found for the *gratuitous* services of the brotherhoods, even though time should improve the educational training of the seculars, whose achievements up to date, if entirely commendable, can at the same time be appraised only on a diminutive scale. Besides, nowhere is more clearly revealed the "patchiness" of the anti-clerical combinations, pending their ultimate shrinkage in the final wash.

It is notorious that many of the French opposition and many Englishmen who totally disagree with the irreligious pursuits of

the ruling party in France have nevertheless, in face of their gradual ascent towards the crowning day throughout the last three or four years, repeatedly termed their programme a "great policy." To this tendency I myself have occasionally given way, until I discovered that the "great policy" concealed not only false principles but false moves. Of course, were it certain and not merely possible, that the abrupt change of front which followed the transference of the ministerial reins from the Promethean thumb of M. Waldeck-Rousseau to the inquisitorial index of M. Combes embodied the result of a secret and complete understanding between the two Ministers, the cleverness of the move, so far as the former's retirement is concerned, was equalled only by its duplicity. But, apart from the subsequent perversions of the Associations' Law of 1900, two other "turns" seem to call for admiration—of a kind. It has generally escaped notice, that in every stage of the assault the French Government has proceeded first against the male, and only then against the female section of the Regular Orders. The distinction is highly creditable to the ministerial "psychologists," well aware of the unconscious indifference of the French population towards the male element of the Congregations and of its heartfelt sympathy with the Sisters, a sympathy attributed by Mgr. Lacroix, Bishop of Tarentaise (Savoy), to *cette pointe d'esprit, chevaleresque qui fait le fond de l'âme française*. The recently introduced sham described as an Education Bill, but obviously framed against teachers belonging to "unauthorized" Congregations, at a time when it had probably already been settled within the Cabinet Council that there should be no "authorized" Congregations of the educational type, is less deserving of congratulation, even from a practical point of view. I do not object to allow the Government for a moment the moral benefit of sincerity, if this be possible, and to recognize their initial conception as a happy stroke—subjectively speaking; for, whilst safeguarding to the limited extent compatible with honest French radical opinion the principle of liberty of instruction, the Bill raised technical difficulties concerning the required standard of teachers' diplomas and degrees, and proposed a political surveillance of the school-room atmosphere which might have rendered the position of many monastic and clerical teachers legally untenable. In practice however, the Bill must have proved a failure in face of the academic zeal and diplomatic tact of the Religious, and it has

been deemed expedient to resort to sweeping measures, an inconsistency which of itself goes far to prove the idleness of any assumption as to the Government's sincerity. If we consider now the Bill in question as a lay figure rigged up in order to distract Catholic and liberal apprehension from the more intimate aims of the present leaders of French anticlericalism, we must admit that its authors have scored a notable success. This success, on the other hand, has sorely contributed to handicap and cripple the Combes Ministry in its denunciation of the teaching Orders—the capital point at issue—by forbidding them *à priori* the only two arguments, viz., technical insufficiency and active political propaganda, which if supported by circumstantial evidence might have justified their action. The fact that the teaching Orders are expressly *not* charged with political propagandism is all the more striking because that was the main charge urged by the Government against the preaching Orders, some of whom, by the way, are classified under both headings. Logically therefore we are entitled to conclude from the ministerial statement that the much dreaded ambition of the "regular" prefers to attach itself to the reluctance of the prejudiced or apathetic adult rather than to the very malleable enthusiasm of the youthful soul, whose value as a political factor the French Government so fully appreciates, judging from its monopolist tendencies.

Personally, to be plain spoken, I have little doubt that in an *infinitesimal* number of the *collèges libres* of Paris—those frequented by the sons of the monarchist aristocracy—there has been a periodical and ill-advised revival of Orleanist proselytism. But apparently, the process of magnifying these childish fads in order to represent them as a peril to the State would have been too mean and embarrassing for the present Ministry even to attempt.

The Government therefore has felt compelled to fall back on legal and utilitarian corollaries. To the first category of arguments we have by this time grown accustomed, thanks in particular to that advisory but more often advised body, the Council of State, whose dialectical candour strangely recalls Voltaire—all rights reserved in respect of genius of expression. There is encouragement, I cannot say consolation, for the French reactionary and traditionist, when the much-exalted progressivism of the Third Republic seeks legislative support and consecration in a Bourbon Law of January, 1817,

and an ordinance of an Imperial Court of Cassation, prohibiting the establishment of any religious community except by virtue of a special law. Moreover, it contemptuously labels as "subtleties" decrees enacted by *Republican* Ministers and explicitly recognizing religious teaching associations as primary institutes of public utility, in accordance with Articles 31 and 34 of the *Republican* Law of March, 1850. True, the Congregations devoted to secondary education have no such "subtleties" to invoke in their favour; but can we forbear a smile at the legal grievances revived by the Government after eighty-five years' slumber, or at its solemn admission of "want of surveillance on the part of the public powers," especially if we consider that all private schools have at all times been subjected to State inspection and supervision? Thus there can be no question of their having passed an unrecognized existence; indeed the untiring outcry of the radical leaders against the avowed success of the congregationist candidates at all public examinations points to the opposite conclusion.

The Government further argues that by formulating their recent demands for authorization the Congregations admitted the illegality of their position; it wilfully ignores the fact that by this very action the immense majority showed their readiness to comply with the laws of the country, whether obsolete or of recent date. Besides, if their illegal position had been unquestionable, why did not the executive issue a decree under the Act of 1817, for the expulsion of the teaching Orders without seeking the preliminary sanction of the Council of State whose hesitation was perceptible, and of the Parliamentary majority? And yet, in open defiance of the precedent thus established and of the Associations' Law, which clearly stated that the demands for authorization emanating from branch establishments of authorized Congregations were to be referred to the Council of State—a decision annulled by that suicidal body itself—we now see M. Combes rejecting their applications on his own authority, and ordering by a circular letter to the *Supérieures* of the girls' schools, the dissolution of the same within eight days!

The inconsistency which characterizes the legal view taken by the French Ministry is no less part and parcel of their indictment on the score of necessity: "It may be that throughout the last century public teaching had need of religious assistants, but now that *the circumstances which rendered their*

assistance necessary prevail no longer, they should be thanked and dismissed." I remark incidentally that the italicized words flagrantly contradict the excuse quoted above of "want of surveillance on the part of the public powers." But the whole sentence savours of ultra-Machiavellian unction in its "homage" of thankless gratitude; the latter feeling—whatever the accompanying qualification—is unexpectedly comforting! As regards the alleged uselessness of the congregationist schools, in presence of the quasi-perfect organization of public instruction, I incline to challenge the ministerial optimism. A Parliamentary Commission appointed by the predecessor of the present *Chambre* to inquire into the existing state of secondary education revealed, in the words of so prominent a scholar and Republican Minister as M. Gabriel Hanotaux, *Le testament politique de l'impuissance universitaire au xix^e siècle*.

These revelations gave rise to a general clamour for reform in radical circles, and led finally to an elaborate change of the secondary programme made some eighteen months ago. If this short interval has sufficed to ensure the perfect working and results of the new scheme, then, indeed, must the French Minister of Education be congratulated on having once for all shattered the current axiom that genius, in matters educational, is but the outcome of unwearying patience! Questioned, in the course of the above-mentioned inquiry, as to the advisability of maintaining the free colleges, the most eminent representatives of the Université de France declared in their favour. They feared apparently lest the public schools, once relieved of the stimulus of competition, would by a weakness inherent in human nature gradually drift towards the almost unavoidable and certainly fatal harbour of Inertia, a consummation which the stolid red-tapism of "the professor-official" plainly suggested. They had also understood that the State monopoly of education would erect a Procrustean bed and prove destructive to the very essence of a democratic community, viz., the free development and unfettered initiative of the individual towards the advancement of the commonweal. It is in vain that the Government try to conceal the inevitable result, if not the ultimate aim, of their monopolist cravings, by a concessive clause in favour of "lay and private competition," which in France is little short of non-existent.¹ The economic difficulty

¹ In 1901 the clerical "free colleges" of the Secondary Grade numbered 91,825 scholars, the private lay schools 10,182, and the "public schools" 85,599.

will also have to be faced, inasmuch as the State will have to provide school-room accommodation for close upon two million children of the primary grade and some ninety thousand of the secondary, hitherto brought up on the voluntary contributions of the Catholic population. The solution can only be found in a fresh increase of taxation—a remedy much to be dreaded if we consider the straitened condition of the national purse.

It will no doubt have been noticed that I have dealt with the sectarian policy of the French Government on exclusively material grounds; it is, in my opinion, the only practical way of contending with opponents so temporal-minded. How, indeed, impress upon them, as the French Episcopate have so eloquently but vainly essayed, the inalienable right of the father of a family to choose the educator of his children? It would perhaps be more effectual to emphasize the point that free-thinking France of the nineteenth century—which can boast in the positivist arena such great names as Comte and Taine—should have hypocritically sought to disguise the morals of her youth behind a spiritual mask, an undenominational catechism concealing a deity of paper pulp, founded by the most diverting of contradictions on the antiquated basis of the mediæval syllogism!

Returning to the secular field we must mention another claim to superiority and continuance made by the advocates of the few established institutions. M. Gabriel Hanotaux, in *Le Choix d'une Carrière*, has justly noted: "L'Education ancienne tendait à faire des hommes. . . . Les enfants n'apprenaient pas pour apprendre, ils apprenaient pour se former l'âme, le jugement et le caractère. . . . La pédagogie moderne se propose de faire des hommes instruits." And his colleague at the French Academy, M. Lavissee, a renowned historian and *universitaire* of distinctly advanced ideas, has repeatedly demanded but without success that the public schoolmasters should follow the example set by the clerical and monastic teachers in their double rôle of instructors and educators. In this connection I cannot refrain from quoting the following extract from a recent speech by Mgr. Douais, Bishop of Beauvais:

Certes, oui, le maître doit être éducateur. Mais comment le sera-t-il? Les lettres, les humanités peuvent l'aider dans son entreprise délicate; elles éclairent l'esprit de l'enfant qui admire la forme inimit-

able que les anciens donnaient à leur pensée ; elles contribuent aussi à porter haut son cœur : leçons, conseils, lumières particulières, oui, tout cela s'y trouve, à la condition de l'y chercher et d'en avoir la clé.

L'histoire, à son tour, lui servira, moyennant un choix éclairé des faits et des personnages. Mais la critique ne pourra jamais qu'une chose, rendre l'esprit sagace, prudent, avisé. Les grands hommes, qui se meuvent sur la scène des siècles, ne donnent pas par eux-mêmes, pour si belle que soit leur conduite, la solution des problèmes de notre vie, de notre nature, de notre destinée, qui pourtant vont de soi. Aussi, ni les lettres, ni les sciences, ni l'histoire, si elles apportent quelques lumières particulières qui éclairent les pas de l'enfant, ne tendent à gouverner réellement la vie. Cette dignité appartient à la Religion, qui dit à l'enfant d'où il vient et où il va, qui lui montre sans cesse Dieu au point de départ et au point d'arrivée. Parce que les collèges libres se proposent de former des chrétiens, ils prennent comme moyen d'action la Religion : ils savent qu'elle est la grande éducatrice du cœur.

Leurs maîtres, s'appuyant sur elle, parlent de la déchéance originelle ; c'est pour cela qu'ils sont indulgents au défaut, qu'ils restent bons même devant la faute. Elever, c'est partir d'un point pour atteindre à un autre plus haut, meilleur, enviable. Ils prennent l'enfant, l'adolescent, le jeune homme pour l'aider, le conduire, le former. Voilà ce qu'est l'homme ; voici ce qu'il doit devenir. Le maître chrétien vit avec l'enfant ; il s'intéresse à lui ; et la classe finie, se mêlant à la troupe des écoliers, il est l'ami, le frère aîné, le maître aimé. Et comme il met à son service cette force à nulle autre pareille qui s'appelle la Religion, il moralise le cœur même le plus vicieux naturellement, il adoucit la nature même la plus ingrate, il fait goûter les images pleines de poésie et de ciel par l'esprit le plus naturellement utilitaire, qui ouvre ses ailes, monte et vit.

But of course the suppression of the free colleges implies practically the total eradication of religious atmosphere from the educational system of France. Yet in the secondary *lycée*, denominational "teaching" will probably continue, as in the past, to be provided out of school hours and at the parents' request ; in the *école primaire* it has long ago ceased to exist. Thus, in a so-called republican and modern State, none but those privileged by birth or fortune are deemed worthy of instruction in the divine foundation of human morality and the origin of human beliefs and intuitions. This is but one of those innumerable traces of inconsistency and injustice which forbid us to look upon the doctrines of French anti-clericalism, despite its eagerness to emulate the *Patres Conscripti* of the

Convention, as in any sense a "Festival of Reason," though Sophistry may claim them for her own. It is, too, but a novel manifestation of that doubtful asceticism which, whilst allowing the generous reforms of 1789 to inaugurate a fresh and pregnant era of civilization elsewhere, has periodically stifled their promise in the much-boasted but somewhat "rocky" cradle of modern democracy.

MAURICE A. GEROTHOHL.

*The Holy Shroud as a Scientific Problem.*¹

IT is a matter for regret that the question of the authenticity of the Shroud of Turin has been discussed—one might almost say has been fought out—in France as a sort of test-case between two religious parties. For a long time past many Catholics whose sympathies in all matters of erudition are strongly conservative, have been smarting under the rude blows which such scholars as Mgr. Duchesne and Mgr. Batiffol, not to speak of the Abbé Loisy, have dealt to certain of their most cherished convictions. The conservatives have defended their position strenuously, but in point of learning and logic they have been overmatched. No impartial observer can have failed to note how steadily, in spite of all their efforts, the tide of new ideas has swept onwards almost unchecked. It is little to be wondered at that under such circumstances the hard-pressed defenders of the old order of things should welcome enthusiastically a diversion from an unexpected quarter. Who could have dreamed that the Shroud of Turin, which was perhaps more seriously compromised by positive evidence than any of the numerous traditions that had been assailed, should find vindicators even in the Academy of Sciences itself, and that agnostic professors of the Sorbonne should venerate a relic of the Passion which Jesuits and Monsignori had repudiated? On the other hand, it was natural, though regrettable, that the party of progress thus unexpectedly taken in the rear, should somewhat lose their heads and grow unduly violent. There are few of M. Vignon's assailants, so at least it seems to the present writer, who have been quite just to him or to his arguments. Moreover, some have been rather seriously discourteous, and others have eagerly welcomed every successive hypothesis opposed to his conclusions,

¹ See THE MONTH, January, 1903, "The Holy Shroud and the Verdict of History." By an unfortunate misprint the date of the Brief of the Avignon Pope Clement VII. to Geoffrey de Charny was in one place (p. 21) given as July, 1359, instead of July, 1389. Also on p. 18, note 1, for *lineal* read *lincol*, and on p. 28, note 2, for Clement VIII. read Clement VII.

forgetting that many of them are inconsistent and mutually destructive. However confident the opponents of the authenticity of the Turin relic may be, and the readers of my last month's article will be aware that I range myself unhesitatingly upon that side, it is only justice to admit that there is really a problem to be solved. I do not believe that M. Vignon has solved it, but neither do I feel satisfied with any of the numerous suggestions made by such writers as M. de Mély, M. Donnadieu, Mgr. Bellet, M. Chopin,¹ and others of like sympathies. But here it seems desirable to try and state as clearly as may be the precise nature of the problem to which M. Vignon's elaborate work has drawn such conspicuous attention.

The Shroud of Turin, as explained in my former article, is marked with two impressions of a human body, showing both front and back. As the relic is exhibited only at rare intervals, it has been examined at leisure by few, but it seems to be generally admitted that in its present state, even under the most favourable circumstances of light and position, an observer finds considerable difficulty in tracing upon the fabric the figure of our Saviour. As for the expression of the face, the features are now only visible in a black and seemingly distorted image which in any other object might have been deemed the rude daubings of some prehistoric artist. In 1898, however, the shroud was photographed and a remarkable thing happened. In the process of developing the photographic negative the face came into view with a clearness and a beauty quite unperceived in the shroud itself. In place of the black-and-white caricature seen in most negatives, and barely recognizable as a representation of the original, the photographer beheld for the first time, as the image on the plate developed, the true face of which the shroud bears the impress. The hair and beard showed white, neck there was none, and a curious gap revealed itself between the long hair hanging on either side and the face which it served to frame. But there was expression in the face, all disfigured as it was; from a child's daub it had become a living portrait. Indeed, if we are to believe M. Vignon and his supporters, the face on the shroud stands almost unrivalled as

¹ M. de Mély believes the figures to have been *printed* on the shroud in red by means of wooden blocks. M. Donnadieu attributes the more remarkable peculiarities observed in the photograph of M. Pia to the transparency of the shroud, which allows the red silk lining to show through. Mgr. Bellet and M. Chopin are of opinion that the painted side of the shroud is turned inwards towards the lining, and that it is the "wrong" side which is exposed to view.

a type of majestic beauty, and on this ground alone is shown to be no fabrication of an artist in the fourteenth century. This last point is difficult to estimate, and one might wish that in place of a general appeal to the verdict of the artistic world, M. Vignon had given us a list of names of men of note who were willing to commit themselves in print to the assertion that such a painting could not have been produced in the middle ages. As it is, I am not aware that any competent authority on the history of art has pronounced himself in M. Vignon's favour. In the meantime, M. de Mély has provided the readers of his brochure with a concrete example of what French artists could produce at the epoch when the shroud is first heard of. Supposing that, as we have no reason to doubt, M. de Mély's reproduction is a faithful one, it would have to be admitted, I think, that the hand which designed the Narbonne altar frontal for King Charles V.¹ was also capable of work quite as excellent as that of which the shroud gives evidence.

But this, after all, is a side issue, and not vital to the case. The central point and the foundation of M. Vignon's whole thesis is the inference that since the photographic negative of the shroud is a clearer and more easily recognizable picture of our Lord's Body than the original, the shroud is itself a "negative." If this point be once made good, the argumentation which follows is obvious enough. Supposing the shroud—by which, of course, I mean the imprint on the shroud—to be a negative, it is quite incredible, so M. Vignon contends, that any mediæval artist could have painted it. The very conception of such a thing lay outside the range of mediæval ideas, and its realization, which would be difficult even at the present day, would not only have been impossible in itself, but would have defeated the forger's main object, viz., to exhibit upon the linen shroud a beautiful and easily recognizable portrait of our Saviour. However perfect a negative may be, to the untrained eye it is neither beautiful nor easily recognizable as a portrait. Hence M. Vignon concludes, with much show of reason, that supposing the impression on the shroud to be truly a negative, it cannot have been produced by the hand of man, but only by the automatic action of some natural cause analogous to the actinic effect of light in photography.

M. Vignon might have left his demonstration there, but he goes

¹ See the half-tone engraving in M. de Mély's brochure, *Le Saint-Suaire de Turin, est-il authentique?* p. 33. The original design is in the Louvre.

further, and enters upon the question of the nature of the action which has left these wonderful marks upon the shroud. Basing his conclusion upon certain experiments which he has conducted with the aid of M. le Commandant Colson, M. Vignon attributes the stains upon the linen to the action of the ammoniacal emanations given off by our Saviour's Body after death, during the forty hours of the entombment. The linen shroud impregnated with oil and aloes absorbed these vapours, and in accordance with what the discoverer has called the law of distances, was stained in varying degrees, the reddish brown stain being deepest where there was actual contact with the flesh or hair, and more especially in those places where the skin was lacerated or a blood clot had been formed. Lastly, our adventurous scientist, examining very minutely the marks upon the shroud, discovers in them a long series of confirmations of his theory. The nail is seen from the photograph to have pierced not the palm of the hand but the wrist, and M. Vignon very naturally contends that such a departure from universal tradition could never have originated with a forger of the fourteenth century, familiar not only with the Scriptures, but with the story of the stigmatized St. Francis. Again, the body is absolutely nude, and shows by the clearest evidence that it had been scourged in a state of nudity. Furthermore, the marks left by the scourges prove that the lash was loaded with bone or metal buttons, as we know to have been the Roman custom. Moreover, M. Vignon, after careful study of the behaviour of drying clots of blood, declares that the impressions on the shroud show a truth to nature undreamed of by any of the great artists even of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. So also the absence of any trace of the neck or of those hollows in the configuration of the body which must have been relatively remote from the surface of the shroud, is claimed as a striking confirmation of the theory of the "law of distances;" while lastly, the saturation with sweat fully explains why the hair and beard should have left as deep a stain upon the linen as the flesh itself, so that in the modern photographic negative both stand out with equal whiteness.

Although these points have not been named in the order in which M. Vignon discusses them, the arrangement followed will, I think, conduce to clearness. His elaborate argument lends itself to a division into three separate headings which are to some extent independent of each other, viz : (I.) the question of

the so-called "negative" impression on the shroud. (II.) The "vaporographic" theory explaining the origin of this impression. (III.) The confirmation furnished by an analysis of the wounds, markings, and other details. Let us deal with each of these points in order.

I. IS THE IMAGE ON THE SHROUD A "NEGATIVE"?

The most fundamental point is undoubtedly the question of the so-called "negative" image. I think the term is confusing and to some extent question-begging, but if we understand by *negative* simply a picture in which the normal lights and shadows are reversed, I do not see how it can be disputed that in its present state the image, or more accurately the two images on the shroud are negatives. So far as photography can produce a facsimile of the coloured stains seen upon the linen cloth at Turin, we observe (see Fig. I.) that the ridge of the nose, the temples, the cheek-bones, the chin, the lips, &c., are marked by spots of special blackness, while the parts normally in shadow such as the neck and the hollow of the eyes are left comparatively white. At the same time, if we reverse the lights and shadows by taking an ordinary photographic negative of the shroud, then, as already stated, the face comes out clearly, though with apparently white hair and beard. If this experience were verified only in the single photographic plate published by Signor Secondo Pia, we might suspect some misadventure, some accident of over-exposure, such as those to which photographers are constantly liable; but other photographs, notably that including part of the altar (Fig. III.), show the same peculiarity, which is moreover traceable, as M. Vignon points out, in practically all the copies made by hand, even as far back as the time of the artist Clovio (c. 1560). But in conceding that the image is now a negative, it must not be inferred that I am surrendering the whole position. Supposing that it were question of a delicate portrait on linen in simple black and white, and supposing also that the "negative" characteristics had been observed in the shroud from the beginning, or at any rate before the fire, I for one should admit the validity of M. Vignon's conclusion that the image seen thereon could hardly have been painted by the hand of man. Unfortunately, however, for his theory, these conditions are by no means verified. Whether the image on the shroud be monochrome or not, there can be no doubt that it is, and always

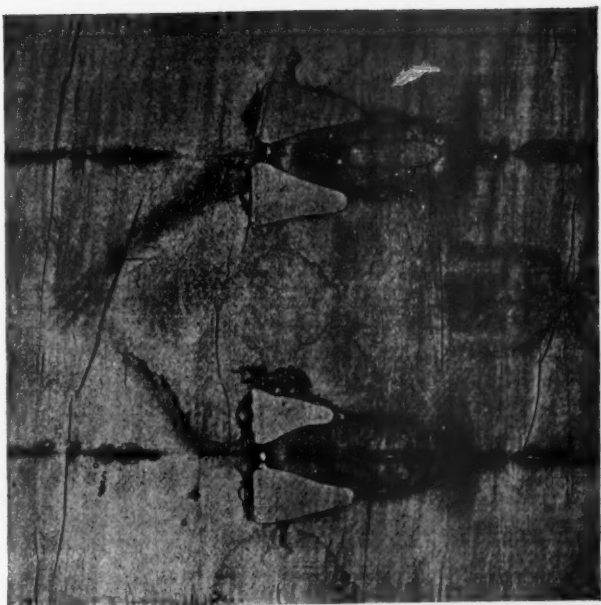


FIG. I.

A portion of the Figure of our Lord as now seen on the linen of the Shroud:

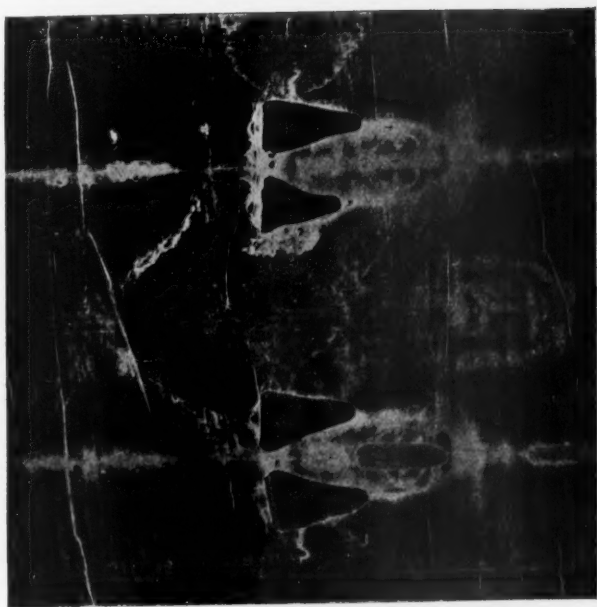


FIG. II.

Photographic negative of the same portion of the Figure on the Shroud.

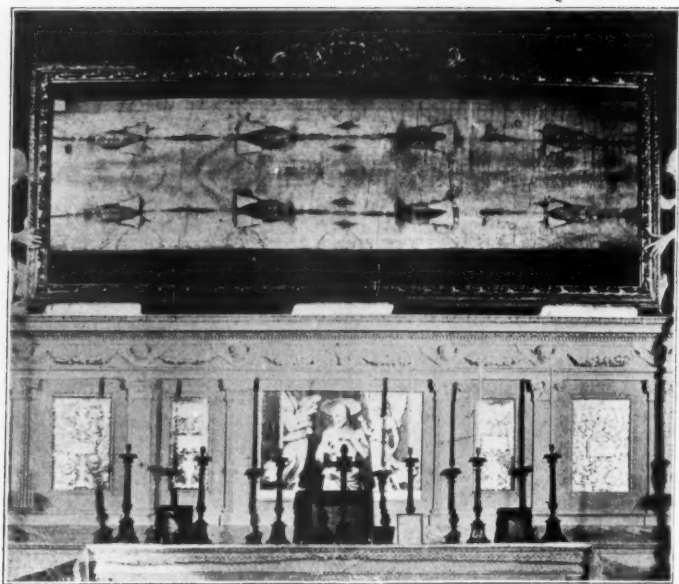


FIG. III.

The Shroud of Turin photographed as it was exposed for veneration in 1898, with a portion of the altar.

The photograph shows that there was no over-exposure, and that the Shroud was not seen by transparence. The shadows cast by the candlesticks make it clear how strong was the light thrown upon the Shroud by the two electric arc-lamps in front.

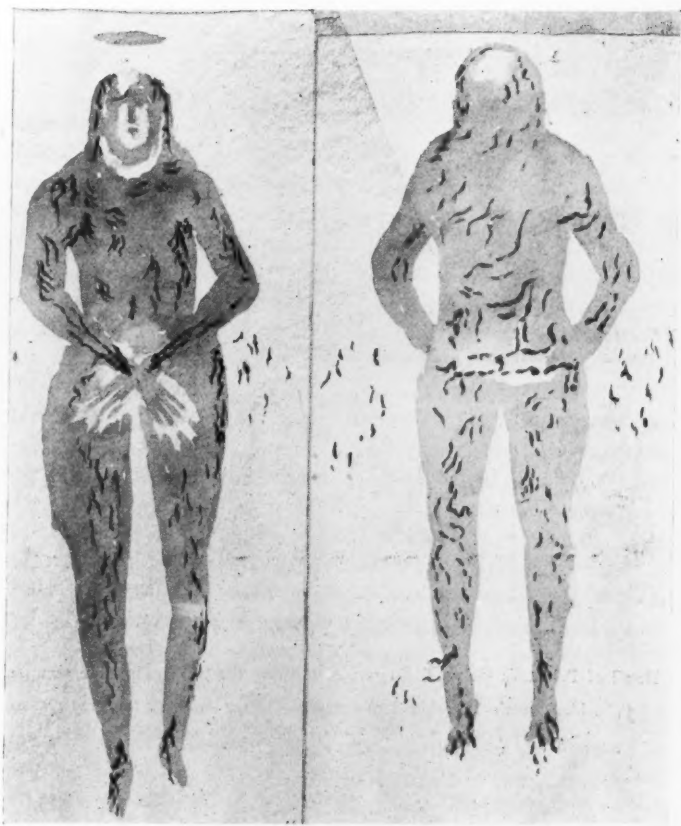


FIG. IV.

Half-tone reproduction of Paleotto's Coloured Engraving in yellow and red.
The imprint of the flesh is in yellow, the wounds are in red.

(In the original the two figures are drawn head to head, as on the Shroud; they have here been placed side by side to economize space.)

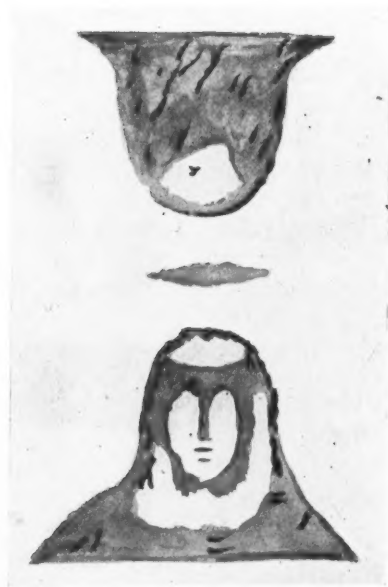


FIG. V.

Detail of Paleotto's Coloured Engraving, showing the two heads more accurately.

(The black marks correspond to red stains in the original, the grey tint to pale yellow, and the white to spaces left uncoloured.)

has been, coloured. Moreover, there is no existing copy or picture of the Turin Shroud which can be assigned to an earlier date than the year 1560 or later,¹ and consequently there is no evidence that what we now see as a negative was a negative before the fire of 1532. These two points seem to me to be of such very great importance as to deserve fuller consideration. And first as regards the question of colour.

M. Vignon, who has never seen the shroud itself but only photographs of it, argues that because the negative plate of Signor Pia shows our Lord's face with normal lights and shadows, while the positive reverses them, therefore the face as seen on the linen is necessarily a negative. If the image on the shroud were drawn in black and white the inference would be legitimate enough, but when a coloured picture is in question, the argument considered in itself is quite unsound, as a simple example will show. Almost every one of my lady readers will be aware that if she be photographed in a blue dress the dress will come out white; if she be photographed in a yellow dress the dress will come out black or nearly black. The finished print which she receives is of course the reversal of the negative, and in the negative the blue shows light and the yellow dark. Now let me suppose an artist to paint a face with a yellow pigment upon a sky-blue paper, using the yellow for the lights and allowing the blue paper to serve for the shadows. One sees such an arrangement of two colours almost every day in the designs stamped upon cloth bindings, some of which are elaborately shaded. I say that if a photograph were taken of this painting the negative plate would be just as easily recognizable as the original, and the lights and shadows would still preserve their normal relation. On the other hand, the positive print made from this negative would look unnatural, the lights and shadows being reversed. Further, a stranger who was shown the negative plate and its positive print without further explanation, would conclude that the picture thus photographed had been painted as a negative; though the inference would be quite unwarranted. Hence M. Vignon's axiom cannot be taken as a maxim of universal application, and to draw any safe conclusion we should have to know the colours of the image upon the shroud when first we hear of it in the fourteenth

¹ Of the Besançon Shroud which M. Vignon believes to have been an early copy of that of Turin, and which perished in the French Revolution, a word will be said later. M. Vignon's proofs that it is a copy of the Turin Shroud seem to me quite inadequate. See the *Revue du Clergé Français* for Nov. 15, pp. 567 and 576.

century. We have no evidence even that the cloth itself was white rather than grey or bluish, and with regard to the figure what little we do know strongly suggests that it was yellow, the very tint which was most likely to lead to photographic complications and to all kinds of misconceptions.

Secondly, granting, as I am personally prepared to do, that the image now seen on the shroud may be rightly called a negative, it by no means follows that it must have been a negative from the beginning. M. Vignon is honourable enough himself to supply the evidence which proves that a normal painting or fresco may in the course of years turn into a negative owing to certain chemical changes in the pigments with which it has been executed. His plate VI. shows us a fresco at Assisi which has suffered in this way. All the lights have become shadows, a phenomenon which is probably due, as he explains, to the action of sulphur upon the lead contained in the white paint used for the flesh tints. But such a change, he contends, is out of the question in the case of the shroud. So light a material could not possibly have supported the heavy pigments. Folded up in a casket, as we know the cloth to have been, the paint would have flaked off or crumbled away, even if it had ever been possible to execute a painting upon so flimsy a substance. In this contention M. Vignon is no doubt right, but we may ask how he can possibly know that an analogous darkening would not take place in the case of the water colours with which a linen cloth would probably be painted. There is no subject confessedly more obscure than the processes, media, and colouring materials employed by mediæval art. Moreover, we have not only to reckon with the ravages of time, but with the quite incalculable effects of the conflagration from the midst of which the shroud was rescued in its silver casket only after it had experienced the fiercest heat and after the exposed corners of the cloth had all been partially charred. Every school-boy knows that the stain of orange-juice, invisible to the eye at first, is turned by the action of heat to a deep yellow-brown, and that, unlike lemon-juice, this colour is permanent. Many other substances, such as onion-juice, milk, &c., are known to possess similar properties. Ignorant as we are of the processes of mediæval art, it is impossible to guess what vegetable tinctures or dyes may have been employed or what liquids may have been used by mediæval painters to dilute or fix their colours.

Even in the seventeenth century we learn from Chifflet¹ that in painting a facsimile on linen of the Besançon Shroud, the only yellow colouring matter which was found to answer satisfactorily was "a tincture of cloves and cinnamon extracted with *aqua vitæ*." What artist or chemist would venture to commit himself to an opinion regarding the probable condition of such a painting after the lapse of 550 years, diversified by fire, water, direct sunlight, Alpine cold, and other accidents? Would the colour darken, or would it simply fade? Agostino Solaro testifies that at Turin in the expositions of the early part of the seventeenth century, the shroud was left for hours in the full blaze of an Italian mid-day sun, which was beating down directly upon it.²

I cannot pursue this branch of the subject further, but I submit that the foundation-stone of M. Vignon's whole edifice is far from being solidly established. Even apart from the possible complications introduced by the transparency of the shroud and the colour of its lining, it appears to me quite conceivable that the figure of our Lord may have been originally painted in two different yellows, a bright glazed yellow for the lights and a brownish yellow for the shadows. What chemist would be bold enough to affirm that under the action of time and of intense heat the two yellows may not have behaved very differently, the bright yellow blackening, the brown yellow fading? We cannot possibly dogmatize about the behaviour of colouring matters the nature of which is unknown to us, and we are justified in preferring the plain and conclusive evidence of history to the dubious interpretation of any photograph. Neither should it be forgotten that this imprint upon linen is supposed, after having been preserved for nearly fifteen hundred years and transported from place to place, to have shown such vivid blood-stains that "it seemed to have been done yesterday." Now, however, despite the care lavished upon it during the last three centuries it is declared to be in the most frail condition and almost effaced. That linen packed inside a mummy case, protected from the air and never disturbed, may last two thousand years and more involves no miracle. But that such frail material constantly unrolled and

¹ *De Linteis*, p. 198.

² Solaro, *Sindone Evangelica*, p. 58. "L'anno passato, che fù il 1621, li quattro di Maggio, nel piu chiaro e sereno giorno, che per molti mesi inanti si fosse veduto . . . non diede sempre il sole con suoi raggi nella sacra tela spiegata?"

exhibited and handled and folded up again and carried about, should have shown no signs of fading or of wear and tear when Antoine de Lalainge inspected it in 1503 is a most stupendous circumstance and alone makes an almost impossible demand on our credulity.

II. M. VIGNON'S "VAPOROGRAPHIC" THEORY.

It is no injustice to insist that M. Vignon's main conclusion that the shroud is not a painting must stand or fall with the rival explanation which he himself propounds of the origin of the figures impressed upon it. He does not put forward his hypothesis as a mere suggestion, but it is interwoven with the substance of his essay. I have already given some idea of the nature of his solution. The anguish of the death our Saviour died would have bathed His body in febrile sweat. This, drying upon the limbs and hair, and exceptionally charged with urea, would have given out ammoniacal vapours which are capable of producing a permanent red-brown stain in linen soaked with aloes, while, the intensity of the action varying with the square of the distance from the emitting surface, the gradations of tone thus resulting would constitute a sort of contour map in negative of the uneven surface which the shroud had covered.

M. Vignon claims that the chemical reaction which would take place and the possibility of obtaining an exact representation of an object, covered as our Lord's Body would have been covered by the shroud, has been verified by actual experiment. Without in the smallest degree questioning his good faith, which is indeed proved by the frankness of his own avowals, it must be confessed that the descriptions and illustrations of the results of these experiments are very far from reassuring. We know, it may perhaps be allowed, just enough to vindicate the principle and to show the abstract possibility of what he has laid down, but it is impossible not to be struck by the fact that all the experiments made in the best laboratories in Paris, with command of all possible apparatus, during a period of more than two years, have not furnished a single example, even in such trivial instances as the reproduction of a medal, which can compare in delicacy for a moment with the details of the image of the shroud. We are bidden to believe that in that hurried burial of the Good Friday evening the winding-sheet was disposed about the form of our Lord with absolute symmetry, the

exact centre was found, no portion was twisted aside, or creased or doubly marked from overlapping, and there, though the result was unforeseen, the portraiture was practically perfect. M. Vignon, on the other hand, having endless time and opportunities to arrange all things to his satisfaction, finds that even the one impression upon which he prides himself, that of a plaster hand, is for some unaccountable reason too unsatisfactory to be reproduced in his book. And I think it must be said that the verdict of science is not in M. Vignon's favour now that the lapse of more than six months has allowed other scientists to undertake similar experiments.¹ That some sort of "vapourgraphs" may be obtained by his methods or others that are analogous, has been attested by certain researches of M. Vandevelde at Ghent, but nothing has been done to show that impressions can be obtained of such delicacy as to rival those of the shroud. I venture to quote some remarks of Professor R. Meldola, F.R.S., a specialist in photography, who has reviewed M. Vignon's volume in a recent number of *Nature*.

In order to clear the ground [says the reviewer], we will make a liberal advance in Dr. Vignon's favour and concede for the sake of argument that such ammoniacal vapours may be emitted as required by hypothesis, and further that the shroud may have been impregnated with some sensitive colouring matter or colour generator capable of receiving an impression in three days. What kind of impression could be expected in these circumstances? Stretching the hypothesis to its utmost limit, certainly only a blurred human figure in outline. Now look at the image on the shroud; pictures with a recognizable expression, hair in detail and (as per description) blood-stains, wounds, and stripes. Surely, as the author himself says, there is no limit to hypothetical ingenuity.²

And again Professor Meldola remarks a little further on, complaining of the inadequacy of M. Vignon's own experiments:

The conditions required by the hypothesis are not difficult to realize experimentally. There are many organic colouring-matters sensitive to ammonia gas. The fever hospitals would surely provide the author with subjects for experiment, if inanimate models of the human figure are considered unsatisfactory. If by ammoniacal or other vaporous emanation Dr. Vignon can succeed in producing an impression as dis-

¹ See in particular the recent article of M. Donnadieu in the *Université Catholique* of Jan. 15th, 1903.

² *Nature*, Jan. 15, 1903.

tinctly recognizable as a likeness as the image on the shroud in all its detail, we will waive the question of twenty centuries' permanence and go so far as to admit that there is at any rate some justification for "vaporographic" portraiture.

But these are tests which, as the reviewer complains, M. Vignon has not attempted to apply. Furthermore, a very serious difficulty arises from another consideration. M. Vignon proceeds throughout upon the supposition that the shroud is stained in one colour, varying indeed in intensity, but everywhere proceeding from the same cause, the reaction between the aloes and the vapour of ammonia. According to this theory the open wounds and the clots of dried blood have left precisely the same kind of reddish-brown marks upon the linen as were left by the flesh or hair, though the former may be somewhat deeper in colour owing to the presence of ammonia in larger quantities. Now this assumption of an imprint in monochrome, as I have argued elsewhere¹ at considerable length, is in distinct contradiction with the descriptions which have been left us by various observers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Archbishop Paleotto adorned his book upon the Shroud of Turin (*Explicatione del Lenzuolo*), 1598, with an engraving which he had gone to the expense of printing in two colours (Fig. IV.). The imprint of the Body of Christ is there presented in pale yellow, while the numberless wounds stand out in red. Again, the shroud of Besançon is declared by M. Vignon to be a copy of that of Turin. But the Besançon figure, as we know from quite a number of independent sources, was again in yellow and red, yellow for the flesh, and red for the five wounds. Moreover, several different witnesses, such as Cardinal Gorrevod,² Pingone, Maioli,³ Mallonius, and others, distinguish plainly in speaking of the shroud between the stain of the sweat or unguents and the stain of blood. Thus Mallonius⁴ distinctly says that "besides the blood-stains of the wounds there is another colour which has no suggestion of blood about it, and which was caused by the contact of the flesh of Christ." I give the whole passage in the Latin :

¹ See the *Revue du Clergé Français*, Nov. 15th, 1902.

² Letter of Cardinal Gorrevod, Apostolic delegate of Clement VII., 15 Ap. 1534.

³ S. Maioli, *Historia Totius Orbis Omniumque Temporum*. Rome, 1585. Cent. i. cap. iv. p. 14.

⁴ Mallonius in *A Paleoti Stigmata*, Venice, 1606, p. 5.

Cum autem sacratissimæ Christi plagæ proprio Christi sanguine in sindone dicuntur impressæ, addendum puto, quod non solum et sacratissimæ plagæ, et flagella sanguine cernuntur impressa, sed etiam reliquæ Christi corporis partes quæ sanguine aspersæ non sunt, propriam tamen in sindone sui effigiem reliquerunt. Quare sacra sindon et sanguine et toto etiam Christi corpore impressa fuit. Hoc apertissime ex sacre sindonis inspectione dignoscitur, in qua præter sanguineas tincturas, alia tamen tinctura conspicitur, quæ sanguineas maculas non redolet eaque a carne Christi facta est, quod etiam ex figura ea colligitur, quæ hic posita est.

Still more striking is the statement of Chifflet,¹ who, while attributing the impression on the Besançon shroud to both the unguents and the blood, considers that the stain in that of Turin was due to the blood alone (serum and clots), but adds: "The figure of Turin shows hardly anything but dark crimson stains, and seems to be one big wound, although it also reveals clearly enough the form of the whole body, in such a way that the marks of the wounds seem to be painted in over the impression of the body, which is in a thin pale yellow."

In sacrarum imaginum coloribus materiam specto et formam: in Taurinensi unicam materiam agnosco, Christi cruorem ac saniem pretiosam: in Vesontinâ, præter sanguinem etiam unguenta. Forma autem coloris hæc est: Vesontina icon extra quinque vulnera, quorum luculentus est rubor, tota ex flavo pallescit: Philippo II., Hispaniarum Regi, cum depicta est in linteo, nullus eam color sic ementiri potuit, ut tinctura caryophyllorum et cinnamomi, per aquam vitæ extracta. Taurinensis imago, fere ubique purpureo atroque constat, nec aliud pene quidquam nisi vulnus habet: *quamvis etiam lineamenta totius corporis distincte satis adumbrat, ita ut corporis totius externæ speciei ex flavo diluto atque albescente dilineata, stigmata vulnerum omnium appicta videantur.*

We have already seen how the fact of the image being painted in yellow would go far to explain one of the most puzzling features in the photograph of the shroud; and it may be interesting to supply another confirmation of this suggestion from quite a different line of argument.

In the *Concordia Regularis* of St. Æthelwold (tenth century) we may find the first indications of an Easter ceremony which must have been singularly impressive in its effect upon the spectators, and which was destined at a later epoch to spread all over the Continent. The crucifix, which had been wrapped

¹ Chifflet, *De Linteis Sepulchralibus*, p. 198.

in a linen cloth (*linteum*) on Good Friday and laid in an improvised sepulchre, was removed very early on Easter Sunday morning, in commemoration of our Lord's Resurrection. Then at a somewhat later hour a little scene was enacted beside the tomb. Certain clerics representing the holy women came to the sepulchre, were received by the Angel, and thereupon, after inspecting the place where the crucifix had been laid, they took the shroud, unfolded it before the people, to show that it had been left empty, and then placed it on the altar. Where such a custom prevailed it was natural that the shroud used for the sepulchre should have the form of an altar-cloth, and be of considerable length. This Easter rite, whether originating in England or not, spread through Germany and France. I may translate a few sentences from a description of the ceremony observed at Orleans in the thirteenth century. The three clerics who personated the women, coming to the tomb and finding it empty, turned to the people, and said :

"The Lord has risen from the sepulchre,
Who for us hung upon the tree. Alleluia."

This done let them spread out the shroud, saying to the people :

"Behold here, comrades, these are the linen cloths
Which were left behind in the empty tomb."

And then let them lay the shroud upon the altar.¹

After this in many places the sequence, *Victimæ Paschali*, was recited dramatically. "Tell us, Mary, what you saw on the way?" St. Mary Magdalen was asked. She replied: "The Angels for witnesses, the sweat-cloth (*sudarium*) and the wrappings." Now *sudarium*, though used of any napkin, was literally a sweat-cloth. The story of St. Veronica and her napkin was familiar long before the fourteenth century, and it could hardly have failed to suggest to some reflective mind that upon this other *sudarium* might also have been left, and with better reason, the impress of the Body of our Lord. What a splendid climax for their little drama of Easter morning if, when the Marys unfolded the shroud displaying it to the wondering people, there should be seen upon it the imprint of our Lord's Body marked in His sweat! One might argue confidently that in the course of centuries this particular development could not fail to be hit upon, at least in isolated instances, and if it *were* hit upon, the natural colour to use in painting the shroud would

¹ Lange, *Die Lateinischen Osterfeiern*, p. 164.

be yellow for the imprint of the body, the wounds being conspicuously marked in blood-red. This we know to have been the case at Besançon, and at Besançon we have also some little evidence that the shroud was used for this particular Easter ceremony. In any case the prevalence of such a custom explains the fact that not a few shrouds were preserved as relics or objects of edification, some with figures, others plain; and it also suggests the reflection that there was probably a certain demand for such cloths and that a monk who had chanced to give satisfaction by painting a human figure on the shroud with some skill would be likely to receive many other commissions and to have abundant opportunities of improving on his first rude efforts. I see therefore no violent improbability in the supposition that such an artist may have studied the nude figure and the impressions left by the body of a man lying supine. A chance allusion in a monastic chronicle lets us know that in the English abbey of Meaux, a few years earlier than this (c. 1340), a sculptor carved a wonderful crucifix by studying a nude model (*et hominem nudum coram se stantem prospexit secundum cuius formosam imaginem crucifixum ipsum aptius decoraret*);¹ and it is interesting to learn that, like the shroud of Lirey, this work of art at once became famous. Pilgrimages were made to it and miracles were said to be wrought upon those who devoutly prayed before it. I am by no means satisfied that a painter of shrouds, conscientiously using such opportunities of experiment and observation as were easily realizable, may not have come to see that the parts of the sheet most deeply stained with yellow must necessarily be those in contact with the more prominent features, the nose, forehead, chin, forearm, and the rest, while the neck and other remoter parts could not have affected it at all. This is after all the central idea of the negative imprint. On the other hand, it seems probable that the ravages of time may have tended rather to hide the crudities of the execution and to introduce a certain softness and uniformity than to impair the original beauty of the design.

III. THE WOUND-MARKS ON THE SHROUD.

I have left myself little space to speak of the confirmation of his thesis which M. Vignon finds in a minute examination of

¹ *Chronicon de Melsa*, iii. 35. M. de Mély in his valuable brochure has called attention to this example.

the marks upon the shroud. This is perhaps the less to be regretted because with regard to many of the minute details concerning blood-clots and lacerations upon which M. Vignon dwells, it may be said at once that I, in common with other opponents of the authenticity, have failed to detect what M. Vignon sees so clearly. I do not question for a moment that writer's good faith, but every-day experience shows us how commonly the judgment is influenced and the imagination is stimulated by some rooted conviction which has become a sort of *idée fixe*. Moreover, it does not seem that even M. Vignon's supporters profess to see these things very plainly—I refer in particular to such points as the configuration of the blood-clots and the marks of the scourges—or that they lay any great stress upon these arguments. But there are one or two other details in which there can hardly be any question of mere fancy or of an error in observation, and most important among these is the position of the nail-wound in the hand.¹ Looking at the shroud there can be hardly a doubt that the point of the nail, as there shown, emerged at the wrist and not in the back of the hand. Let us hasten to admit that though the nail had been driven through the palm it might still have been inserted obliquely so as to emerge at the wrist, but none the less the appearance of the hand in the shroud certainly seems at variance with the traditions of art, and there is weight in the contention that this could not be the work of a forger, who more than any other artist would be likely to respect received conventions. My reply to this objection must necessarily be brief, but two points seem worthy of special attention.

First, it is important to notice that there is no sort of reason to attribute the shroud to a forger. The conscientious artist who, as just explained, had tried to produce a faithful representation of the shroud as an aid to devotion, is also just the sort of person likely to have reflected regarding the manner of the piercing of the hands, and to have had doubts whether a nail driven through the palm would be able to sustain the whole weight of the body.

Secondly, it is by no means certain that the idea of the nails

¹ Curiously enough in the description of the shroud left by the Poor Clares of Chambéry who repaired it in 1534, the wounds are stated to be in the *middle* of the hands. Moreover, Paleotto who, in the first edition of his *Lenzuolo*, 1598, had declared that the wound was in the wrist, suppressed this statement in the second edition. See further details in an article by the present writer in the *Revue du Clergé Français*, December 15th, 1902.

being driven through the wrists and insteps was so unfamiliar in the fourteenth century as has been supposed. The great contemporary mystic, whose visions regarding the Passion were more widely known than those of any other holy person, was St. Bridget of Sweden. This Saint twice in her Revelations describes our Lord's hands as pierced with nails in that part, "where the bone was more solid" (*qua os solidius erat*).¹ It is curious also that she says the same of the feet; and to pass to another matter, she represents our Saviour as being entirely naked during the scourging. In all these points she is in agreement with the wound-marks upon the shroud and at variance with the revelations of most other extatics. I do not suppose that the painter of the shroud could in 1350, or thereabouts, have been acquainted with the Revelations of St. Bridget, seeing that she died only in 1373, but I believe that her visions, as usually happened in such cases, took their colour to some extent from ideas commonly received in the age in which she lived. Probably a more careful examination of fourteenth century religious literature would supply other examples of the same beliefs.

Lastly, I am glad to state once more my conviction that in sundry details, though these are not always matters of serious importance, M. Vignon's critics have dealt with him a little unfairly. One may instance in particular the manner of our Lord's burial; in which it may be confessed that the suppositions which he makes do not appear to conflict seriously either with the Gospel narrative or with the customs of the Jews so far as they are known to us.² On the contrary, M. Vignon's

¹ Here are St. Bridget's own words: "Primo dextram manum ejus affigentes stipiti qui pro clavis perforatus erat, et manum ipsam ex ea parte perforabant qua os solidius erat." (*Revelations*, Bk. i. ch. 10.) And again: "Et manum postulatulus primo dextram extendit. Et inde alia manus ad reliquum cornu non attingens distenditur. Et pedes similiter ad foramina sua distenduntur, cancellatique et infra a tybiis distincti, duobus clavis ad crucis stipitem per solidum os, sicut et manus erant, configuntur." (Bk. iv. ch. 70.)

² It does not seem to be true, as stated for instance by M. de Mély, that the Talmud prescribed that the arms of a corpse should be stretched out at full length by its sides. The treatise Nazir in the Jerusalem Talmud declares on the contrary that the arms of a corpse as a rule were folded back upon the body; and Dr. Joseph Perles, a Talmudic specialist, affirms that after death according to primitive Jewish custom, "Die Leiche lag in Sarge mit auf-wärts gewandten Gesichte, an die Brust gefalteten Händen und langgestreckten Beinen." (*Die Leichenfeierlichkeiten in nachbiblischen Judenthums*, in the *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*. Edited by Frankel, vol. x. p. 376.) See the *Revue du Clergé Français*, December 15, 1902; and H. Terquem, *L'Authenticité du Linceul du Christ*, p. 70.

hypothesis seems to me to accord excellently with the data furnished by the Evangelists.

Two reproductions have been added to this paper (Figs. IV. and V.) with the view of making known a fragment of evidence which ought perhaps to be counted as telling in M. Vignon's favour. The engraving of Paleotto, while in serious conflict with M. Vignon's theory of a monochrome imprint on the shroud, also exhibits a very curious feature in the blank spaces left at the top of the head, both front and back, and in the lens-shaped patch of colour between the two heads. It must be confessed that such an appearance would harmonize wonderfully with the theory that the face of our Saviour may, according to Jewish custom, have been bound up with a bandage. This, passing over the brow, beneath the chin and then tied again at the top at the back of the head, would be likely to leave a narrow, lens-shaped interstice at the apex of the head, through which the vapour might affect the aloes-impregnated shroud. The patch may of course be only intended for a halo, and may be a pure invention of the copyist, whose work is rude enough ; still Paleotto's engraving may also possibly represent a copy of the shroud made before the fire, of which it shows no trace, preserving features which we cannot now recognize in the photograph of Signor Secondo Pia.

HERBERT THURSTON.

The Suppression of the Society of Jesus.

XIII.—THE BULLYING OF CLEMENT XIV. (I).

NOW that the Conclave was over the Bourbon Courts could resume their demands for the suppression of the Society. The situation too looked now more favourable, the new factor which had entered into it being the personal character of the new Pope whom they had set on the throne. The external facts of the previous life of Lorenzo Ganganelli are few and simple to relate. He was born on Oct. 31, 1705, in the little town of Sant' Arcangelo, near Rimini, in the Romagna. His father, Lorenzo Ganganelli, was a surgeon with a small country practice; his mother, whose maiden name was Mazzi, sprang from a family of some distinction at Pesaro. As his father died in 1708, it was to his mother's exclusive care that his early training was due. On attaining to school age he was placed by her at the Jesuit school at Rimini, and there he remained for three years, after which he was transferred to Urbino, to a school kept by the Scuolopian Fathers. It was at Urbino that he got his vocation to the Order of St. Francis, and on May 17, 1723, he entered the Novitiate of the Conventual Friars in that city. It was there that he took the name of Lorenzo, by which he is best known—his baptismal name having been Giovanni Vincenzo Antonio. He had talents and application, and in due course, having taken the degree of Doctor of Divinity at Rome, he was set to teach theology and philosophy at Milan, Bologna, and other Italian cities in succession. In 1741 he was recalled to Rome, and placed by the Cardinal Protector of the Franciscans at the head of their great College of St. Bonaventure. Whilst he held this position he attracted the attention of Benedict XIV., who came to esteem him highly, who appointed him in 1746 a Consultor of the Holy Office, and who was credited with the intention of eventually calling him to the Sacred College; but it was to Clement XIII., in 1759, that his elevation to that dignity was in fact due. In the earlier days

of his Cardinalate Clement XIII. used his services in various ways, but grew to distrust him, probably because of his intimacy with Don Manuel de Roda, and during the last years of his reign left him practically unemployed. Under what circumstances this Cardinal, who till then was not specially conspicuous among the Cardinals, came to be elected Pope, the last three articles have narrated.

It is seldom an easy task to reconstruct the physiognomy of a character belonging to a past age, especially when burning questions and controversies have gathered round the man's personality, and this is particularly the case with Clement XIV. Cordara, the ex-Jesuit, to whose Commentaries we have twice had occasion to refer, tells us that "if one listened to the Jesuits and their friends, no Pope was ever worse, whilst if one listened to their enemies no Pope was ever better." Cordara himself however, was more discriminating, and together with the spirit of impartiality which is transparent in his treatise, he had excellent materials for judging, in the results both of his personal observations and of those of his many friends who knew Ganganelli when Pope. As described by this witness, the new Pope was, if not so attractive a personality as his great predecessor, still one that was decidedly pleasing. As a simple friar he had always borne the reputation of a good Religious, pure in his morals, fervent in his piety, attached to the poverty of his state, and noted for the strict observance of his rule. In his relations with others he was quiet and unassuming, easy of access, and cordial and hearty in his conversation. Intellectually Cordara credits him with good talents and a sagacious judgment, and he was certainly a lover of books, and a hard worker. After he was raised to the Cardinalate, and even after his accession to the Papacy, he remained unaltered in these respects, and it was particularly noted how he retained his simple habits and his love of poverty, and how far he was from using the opportunity of his own advancement to push on his relatives or make their fortunes. Such is Cordara's account of him, and it tallies with what we can gather from Caracciolo's¹

¹ *Lettres intéressantes de Clément XIV.* Published by the Marchese Caracciolo in 1776. There has been much discussion about these letters. The Marchese Caracciolo in his Preface is suspiciously reticent as to the channels through which he obtained them, and gives them in a French translation instead of in the original Italian. On this account, and because it is difficult to believe that some of the contents could have come from Fra Lorenzo, many critics have rejected the entire collection as spurious. But von Reumont's judgment (*Ganganelli—Pope Clement XIV.—seine*

collection of his letters, and from de Bernis's despatches in which he describes his many interviews with the Pontiff.

His possession of these virtues and this unstained reputation may well have seemed to the Zelanti electors to mark him out as one who would make a fairly good Pope, and Cordara's criticism, with which it is easy to agree, is that "he would have made an excellent Pope had his lot fallen on happier times." But unfortunately the times were not happy for the Pontiff charged with the responsibilities of the Holy See, and by the side of these virtues, there were in Lorenzo Ganganelli certain shortcomings which seriously disqualified him for the critical task confronting him. What the times needed was a strong and fearless Pope, who would not quail before the might of secular sovereigns, nor allow himself to be coerced by their threats into courses of which his own judgment disapproved; a Pope with a ripe political experience, or at least with an inborn faculty of insight into the motives of politicians and the tendency of their actions; above all, a Pope able to convince the diplomatists that he was incapable of resorting to shuffling expedients or concealing his real motives, but was one who would always pursue a straight policy based on the principles of equity and truth, apart from which they must never expect to extort anything from him. Clement XIV. unfortunately was the reverse of all this, as may be gathered from the history we have now to relate. He was essentially a weak man and an opportunist, and had what so often accompanies a weak man's opportunism, a deficient sense of the justice due to individuals; he delighted in the good-will of secular princes and quailed before their anger; he had no political experience whatever, and was easily taken in by the artful representations of ambassadors and others; he had a weak man's tendency to secretiveness, which led him, on the one hand, to manage everything himself, refusing the counsels of the experienced Cardinals who were his natural advisers, and, on the other, to attribute his delays to causes which were felt to be unreal and caused him to be suspected by the Powers.

In thus assigning the qualifications wanting in the suc-

Briefe und sein Zeit, 1847. Preface, pp. 40—42) is that it is in substance a genuine collection, though some of the letters are spurious and others interpolated. Von Reumont argues very justly that it would hardly be possible to fabricate so many letters, addressed to correspondents most of whom were alive at the time of the publication, and yet impart to them the unity, distinctness, and spontaneity of a living character.

cessor of Clement XIII., we must not be supposed to mean that he should have been an admirer of the Jesuits. On the contrary, even from the point of view of their interests, it would have been better to have a Pope, like Clement VIII. or Benedict XIV., who could be trusted to do nothing that was not equitable, and at the same time would be beyond suspicion of undue leanings towards the Order whose fate was to be determined. Still, as Clement XIV. was called upon to deal with the Jesuits, it is of interest to ascertain how he was predisposed towards them. One of the Cañacciolo letters is addressed to Cardinal Cavalchini, which, though undated, must from its contents have been written not many weeks before the death of Clement XIII. In this letter, if it be genuine, Cardinal Ganganelli gives in his own words his opinion on the Jesuit question. After emphasizing the importance for the Holy See of preserving good relations with the Catholic Powers, especially in an age when incredulity was so aggressive, he protests against the notion "that he is hostile to certain religious because he does not wish to sustain them against the Kings;" but adds that "we must not embroil ourselves with the Catholic Powers for the sake of our predilection for them," and even if "we did it would only result in bringing down on them further storms." Here he denies that he is hostile to the Society, but that need not mean that he was well inclined to them, and his own account of himself in a conversation with Orsini,¹ shortly after his election, was that "in his youth he had been their tertiary,² but had come to realize that they were intriguers." And this agrees with the facts. Cordara tells us that in former days his relations with the Jesuit Fathers in the various towns where they had been his neighbours had ever been most cordial; and, though it would be hazardous to place entire credence in Cordara's story that Jesuit influence obtained for him his Cardinal's hat, Cordara's witness does suffice to prove that the Jesuit Padre Andreucci had spoken of him to Clement XIII. as being their warm friend. But after he was made Cardinal he was drawn into the circle which gathered round M. de Roda, at that time Spanish

¹ See letter of Tanucci to Grimaldi, ap. Danvila, *Historia del reinado de Carlos III.*, iii. 353.

² That is, their friend. The Orders of St. Dominic and St. Francis have Tertiaries attached to them, but the Society of Jesus has never imitated their example. The foes of the Society, however, at the time of which we are speaking, found it convenient to assume that a large body of laity were under the rule of the General, and this was the name by which they chose to designate them.

Ambassador, whose house seems to have been the head-quarters of the conspiracy which had its associates and sympathizers in the principal cities of France and the two Peninsulas, and was busily engaged in preparing the general movement against the Society. When Roda was recalled to Madrid and made Minister of Finance, Ganganelli continued to correspond with him, and it was at Roda's suggestion that he was offered and accepted the office of Promoter of the Cause of the Venerable Palafox. He appears also to have been a regular correspondent, through Friar Castan, a Franciscan resident at Avignon, with Mgr. Jarente, the Jansenist Bishop of Orleans, a determined enemy of the Jesuits; and, in von Reumont's¹ judgment, it was through the good opinion of him expressed by Mgr. Jarente to his intimate friend, Choiseul, that the latter was induced to recommend him so strongly as a suitable candidate for the Papacy. The future Pope could hardly be in these intimate relations with anti-Jesuit leaders without imbibing largely of their ideas; nor is it necessary, on that account, to think of him as changed from the upright and well-intentioned ecclesiastic, to whom the above-given testimonies bear witness. He can have been and apparently was the dupe of his associates. As the result of their manœuvring, the Bourbon territories were flooded with books, pamphlets, correspondence, which collected, invented, and circulated every form of charge against the hated Religious. Some of these charges may have been substantially true, others may have had a nucleus of truth enclosed in far-reaching exaggerations and misrepresentations; many must have been downright fabrications; and in like manner, the evidence invoked on their behalf will have ranged through every degree of credibility or incredibility. The kind of anti-Catholic letters which in our own days their foreign correspondents contribute to English papers, or the articles to periodicals signed by anonymous scribes professing to be devout but scandalized Catholics behind the scenes, are parallel instances, which enable us to realize how minds at all prejudiced or uncritical, can be gained over to believe the most incredible things of an unpopular class of people, on the faith of malevolent gossip or third or fourth-hand reports of witnesses ashamed to give their names.

Such was the Pope into whose hands the power was now

¹ Op. cit. pp. 64, 322 (Letter to P. Valentin).

placed of deciding whether to preserve or destroy an influential body of ecclesiastics whom his predecessors, even those who disliked them, had consistently protected.

His first occupation was to announce his election by autograph letters to the Catholic Sovereigns, and in those addressed to the Bourbon Kings, although he made no direct reference to the Jesuit question, he spoke in fervent terms of the need of restoring peace to the Church, a phrase which under the circumstances of the time indicated not obscurely his readiness to defer to the wishes of the Courts. In his audiences with the ambassadors he was somewhat more explicit. On May 31st, d'Aubeterre writes¹ to his Court that he had been with the Holy Father the previous day, when the latter "again professed his very best intentions to arrange everything to the satisfaction of the House of Bourbon," and "in regard to the Jesuits said they must grant him some time, as he could not do everything at once, but he assured (d'Aubeterre) that the Courts should have reason to be contented." The Ambassador adds that the Pope was "doing everything by himself," that is to say, without employing the advice and co-operation of his Cardinals—a line of conduct which, as will be seen, characterized Clement XIV.'s dealing with the Jesuit question throughout. From two letters addressed to Grimaldi, one by Orsini and one by Azpuru, both dated June 8th,² we learn that the Pope gave to these Ministers similar assurances of his intentions, and we also obtain another insight into the Pope's personal feelings in regard to the Society. With Orsini and the Ambassador of Malta, writes Azpuru, "(the Pope) had entered into frequent explanations, and—referring to certain affairs in which the Jesuits had taken part during the previous Pontificate—said they had ruined every work which they had taken in hand." He also told Orsini he knew "what deceivers they were with their astute practices and inventions," and chaffed him for "having been a penitent of Padre Ricci, conversing with him about the method of the latter, till he drew from the Cardinal an acknowledgment that he had been enlightened to change his own method, and to recognize the delusion under which he had laboured whilst the said Father was directing his conscience."

Although in these early audiences granted to the ambassadors the Jesuit question was thus made the subject of conversation,

¹ Theiner, *Histoire du Pontificat de Clément XIV.* vol. i. p. 352.

² Danvila, *ibid.* p. 350.

there was as yet nothing of an official character in the communications interchanged. Azpuru had indeed urged upon d'Aubeterre, as the latter tells us in his letter of May 31st, that the Ministers should at once deliver to his Holiness a duplicate of the Memorials they had presented to Pope Clement XIII. in January. Azpuru said he had been instructed by Grimaldi to take this step, and Grimaldi had also told him that orders to d'Aubeterre to do likewise had been sent him from Versailles, but d'Aubeterre replied that no such orders had reached him as yet, and he could not fall in with the proposal till they did. Choiseul's instructions were not in fact sent till July 4th,¹ by which time d'Aubeterre had been recalled to France, and had been succeeded at the Embassy by the Cardinal de Bernis. It was to the Cardinal, therefore, that Choiseul wrote this letter which expressed the two-fold feeling then animating the French Court—the wish to follow the lead of the Spanish Sovereign (whose alliance was so valuable to France as against the rivalry of England), and the repulsion against Spanish methods as wanting in tact and delicacy. The clearness in which the Pope had expressed himself on several occasions in regard to the Jesuits was, thought Choiseul, a sure guarantee that the desired measures would be taken, and that being so it was due to his Holiness that he should be allowed the interval of time for which he asked. If then M. Azpuru continued to press for a joint presentation of the Memorials, Cardinal de Bernis was to accede to the plan. The Duc felt, however, as he knew the Cardinal himself felt, that the success of a negotiation was often retarded by the endeavour to precipitate it. He trusted, therefore, to the enlightened discretion of his Eminence, and hoped that the Spanish and Neapolitan Ministers would allow their action to be regulated by it.

Whilst awaiting these instructions from his chief, de Bernis and his fellow-ambassadors were engaged in devising methods for common action in furtherance of their campaign. De Bernis was not altogether satisfied with his colleagues, as he tells us in a letter to Choiseul, dated July 13th.² Azpuru was not particularly intelligent, and Orsini at times was too imprudently vivacious, whilst Almada, the representative of Portugal (for now that Clement XIII. was dead this erratic personage had returned to Rome, and was about to be accredited to the new

¹ Theiner, *ibid.* p. 355.

² Theiner, *ibid.* p. 356.

Pontiff) was both indiscreet and incapable. Still they agreed, as did their Courts, that de Bernis should be their leader, and the Cardinal deemed himself to have found a valuable assistant in Padre Vasquez, the Superior General of the Augustinians, a friend and regular correspondent of Don Manuel de Roda, and with him a leader in the little Roman *coterie* which had been working for the destruction of the Society now for many years past. This Padre Vasquez seems to have impressed on the Cardinal de Bernis the importance of keeping all their proceedings absolutely secret. "The friends of the Jesuits," so Theiner summarizes, "were striving their hardest to find out what was being done, and had set clever spies even about the person of the Pope himself in order to deter him by motives of fear from taking any measure adverse to the Society. They had even begun to circulate threatening prophecies."¹

Theiner is continually giving his readers to understand that the Jesuits were as much intriguers as their adversaries throughout all these critical years of their history, and indeed by their intrigues substantially justified the measures taken against them. When, however, we ask him for proofs that they were thus engaged, the proofs offered are as uncertain as his proofs of the intrigues of the ambassadors are certain. The allegations in the passage just quoted offer a good illustration of this, and as such it may be opportune to inquire into their value. It is true that in his letter of July 13th, de Bernis tells us that prophecies were beginning to be distributed, which declared that "the suppression of the Society was being projected, but that the Pope would die before he had time to sign the Bull;" and also that "Vasquez had warned him that among the gentlemen of his household, his chaplains, his valets, and his liveried servants, there were emissaries of the Jesuits, the Government, and the foreign Ministers." But whilst de Bernis and his colleagues can be trusted implicitly as first-hand witnesses when they tell us of their own conduct and motives, the second and third-hand reports they give us about the conduct and motives of others need to be sifted by criticism. At a time when all Rome was keenly watching the course of the campaign against the Society, it was inevitable that every action of a Pope or an ambassador, or any other leading actor in the drama, the visits they paid or received, the words they uttered, the expressions on their countenances, should be sharply

¹ Theiner, *ibid.* p. 356.

scrutinized by those who had such excellent opportunities of observation as the members of their respective households; it was inevitable that these matters should be discussed, interpreted, and reported from mouth to mouth; and inevitable too that such reports should be gathered up by persons so closely affected as the Jesuits or brought to them in a more or less diluted form by their many friends. But surely neither the Jesuits nor their friends were to be blamed for this, still less to be credited in consequence with commissioning or controlling an organized system of spies. And again as regards the prophecies, when men who put their trust in God see some terrible calamity to religion impending, and to all human appearances inevitable, their natural character comes out and, whilst some bow their heads in blind submissiveness, others catch at straws, and not infrequently some fancy themselves the recipients of heavenly intimation of better things, which they feel impelled to announce to the sufferers for their consolation and support. There may be a credulity in this which deserves to be set down as silly, and there were undeniably Jesuits at the time who incurred that reproach, but it must not be forgotten that there were others to condemn them even among their own brethren. Cordara, for instance, and Thorpe¹ bewail in no qualified terms the disposition of some of their brethren to believe in these vain predictions. Still if their credulity was foolish there was absolutely nothing in it on which to base the fearful charge which, as we have seen, Theiner adopts from the interested lips of de Bernis, when he suggests that under cover of announcing prophecies the Jesuits and their friends were intimating threats, even of murder, the fulfilment of which they would themselves take means to secure.

Choiseul's letter of July 4th should have reached the Cardinal di Bernis about the 25th of the same month and, had nothing intervened to modify the situation, it might perhaps have enabled him to win over his colleagues to the policy of waiting. But the Holy See had meanwhile performed a simple

¹ Father Thorpe was an English Jesuit who at that time was English Penitentiary at St. Peter's. He wrote regular letters at short intervals to his brethren in England, the originals of which are in the Stonyhurst Archives. They form a most valuable chronicle of events from the standpoint of a fair-minded but somewhat optimistic Jesuit observer, and offer conclusive evidence that, so far from being engaged in active intrigues, the Roman Jesuits were like sheep in a thunder-storm, awaiting the issue of events in utter helplessness and uncertainty.

act of administrative routine the consequences of which it could hardly have been expected to foresee. It was customary to grant to all those of the regular clergy who were in the habit of giving parochial Missions the power to announce a Plenary Indulgence to be gained on the ordinary conditions by all who had taken part in such Missions. The practice was to limit the grant to a period of seven years, at the expiration of which the Procurator General of the Order was expected to apply for its renewal, in expediting which the officials on whom the duty devolved, regarding it as mere matter of routine, did not deem it necessary to make more than a perfunctory reference to the Holy Father. It was under these conditions that the Procurator General of the Society of Jesus applied for the renewal of the Mission Indulgence shortly after the accession of Clement XIV., and the Brief *Cælestium munerum*, by which the renewal was granted, bore the date of July 12th. The style of the document was fixed by previous usage,¹ and in its initial paragraph ran thus :

We freely bestow the treasures of heavenly gifts . . . on those who we know are, in their love towards God and their neighbours, and their zeal for the Christian religion, making every endeavour to procure the salvation of souls. And we regard as of such kind the Religious of the Society of Jesus, especially those whom our beloved son, Lawrence Ricci, General Superior of the said Society of Jesus, decides to send for this purpose in the present and succeeding years to the different provinces of Christendom. We therefore, desiring to foster and advance by spiritual graces the piety and labours of the said Religious, and likewise the religious spirit and devotion of those to whom they are sent, being moreover induced by the prayers of the same Lawrence Ricci humbly addressed to us for this end, and wishing to promote as far as we can in the Lord his pious resolves, trusting in the mercy of Almighty God . . . grant, &c.

Theiner, in his account of this episode, acknowledges² that the renewal of this Brief of Concession was in "itself an act of the most simple kind," and is sure that "it would have passed unperceived had not the Fathers of the Society themselves designedly given it a great publicity." But "immense numbers of copies were printed off and distributed throughout Rome to show that Clement XIV. was a most zealous partizan of the Society of Jesus, and like his predecessor would reject all the demands of the Courts for its suppression ;" and he adds that

¹ See for instance in the *Institutum Soc. Jesu* (Prague edition of 1759, vol. i. p. 250) an identically worded Brief of Benedict XIV., dated June 14, 1749.

² Theiner, *ibid*, p. 359.

"this inconsiderate step could not but greatly embarrass the Holy Father in his relations with the Powers, and could only supply them with a fresh and powerful weapon with the aid of which to extort all the more certainly the suppression they desired." One can readily realize the chagrin with which the Bourbon Ministers viewed this wide circulation of a Brief the conventional language of which, witnessing as it did to the feelings hitherto entertained by the Holy See towards the Society of Jesus, set in unpleasant contrast the policy they were striving to force on the reigning Pontiff. Still when Theiner credits the Jesuits with having promoted the undue circulation of the Brief, he is giving another illustration of his false method of citing the interested allegations of the persecutors as trustworthy proof of the doings of their victims. From Father Thorpe's letter of July 20th, we find that the Jesuits, foreseeing the difficulties which might arise if the fact of the renewal of the Brief should become publicly known, took special pains to keep it secret. Father Thorpe tells us that it was a mere chance that the Brief was solicited and obtained at that time—the *septennium* having just then expired, and it being down on the *agenda* list of the Procurator-General that he should apply for the renewals of this and similar privileges on their expiration. "But the General," he says, "prudently observing that some commendation of the Society, which is contained in the Breve, might perhaps be too much noticed either by friends or foes, recommended great caution in divulging it, and not to mention it without necessity. The printer had not the same delicacy, and had an interest in making more copies than a scanty hundred, which were all that the Jesuits required. The story was told out of the print-house that the Pope had made a Breve in vindication of the Society, every word was aggrandized, people hastened to get copies of it, and the printer made his advantage of them." On August 5th, Father Thorpe recurs to the subject, and writes: "Some persons who affect a tone of indifference and impartiality, blame the Jesuits for causing the little Breve to be published, and for having it printed at the Pope's print-house; but they do not reflect that no such Breve can, without a special license from that press, be printed elsewhere, and printed copies are required by the Bishops and other ecclesiastical superiors, to whom the Jesuit missionaries must present them."

Such was the real origin of the stir caused by the issue of the *Cælestium munerum*, but the ambassadors, as we have seen, were determined to set it all down to the intrigues of the Jesuits, by whom they professed to believe that the Pope had been captured. Accordingly they were most irate, and met together to determine how they should deal with the crisis. They decided that there could now be no doubt of the expediency of presenting to the Holy Father the Memorials demanding the suppression which had been presented to Clement XIII. just before his death, and they agreed that de Bernis should draw up a further secret Memorial, which might serve as a covering letter to the others, and should run in the names of all three Ministers. It was a long document, but to the following effect: They had not so far renewed to his Holiness the demand of their Courts, which had been made to his predecessor. They had indeed received orders from their respective Courts to take that step, but out of reluctance to disturb him during the first days of his Pontificate, they had in the exercise of their discretion abstained from so acting up to the present—being further influenced by the knowledge that his Holiness had expressed himself so clearly as to his intentions, and even as to the details of the plan he had in mind, and by the feeling that to present the Memorials so soon might seem to imply a want of confidence in his assurances. The recent concession of the Brief of Indulgence had, however, made them feel that they must delay no longer in giving effect to the orders of their Courts. For “the Jesuits and their partizans were making capital of this Brief, and drawing consequences which fed fanaticism and encouraged the protectors of an Order which had degenerated from its Institute; whose moral teaching had at all times appeared to the most virtuous and learned people to be relaxed and dangerous, and whose theology had always appeared unsound on several essential points; which engaged, contrary to the spirit of the canons, in commerce, in intrigues, in cabals; and which four Sovereigns, respectable not only for the crowns they wore, but also for their attachment to religion and filial respect for the Holy See, had been obliged to proscribe in their States after the most careful reflection.” And the Pope was asked to bear in mind that “time given to an enemy who believes himself to be lost may become fatal to him who gives it; and let him open his mind to the sovereigns who had always been

the support and ornament of the Pontifical throne; and let him communicate to them his plans and ideas, in which case he would find alike in their affection and their power both consolation and safe resources."

These various Memorials were presented to the Pope on July 22nd, and from a letter of de Bernis to Choiseul, dated July 26th,¹ we learn how Clement XIV. received them. It is a letter of special interest for the insight it gives us into the mind of the Pope at this stage of the movement. Clement in the first instance resented the delivery of the Memorials, and refused to receive them. He said they implied distrust in his good faith. But, de Bernis pointing out that he would certainly render himself suspect if he declined to receive them, he took them and promised to read them. Then, entering into explanations, he said the Brief was one of a kind such as was given to all missionaries, only that "the Jesuits had had the insolence (these, says de Bernis, were his very words)² to make a parade of them; but he would before very long issue two other Briefs which would beat down considerably the pride of these Reverend Fathers, and make them see that he feared only not to do his duty." In regard to the suppression of the Society the Pope spoke with great force and clearness, and de Bernis' report of what he said to him had better be quoted textually.

(The Pope) said he had his conscience and his honour to preserve, the former by adhering to the canons and following the example of his predecessors in similar cases; the other by not sacrificing lightly the consideration he owed to the Emperor, the Empress, the Republic of Poland, the King of Sardinia, the Venetians and the Genovese, and even to the King of Prussia—none of whom demanded the suppression; that, although he had been menaced and made to fear for his life, it would not be fear which would prevent him from giving satisfaction at once to the sovereigns of the House of France, but that he knew his rules and his duties, and that no human respect should induce him to disregard them; that now at once he promised the three sovereigns that he would approve what they had done in regard to the Jesuits in their own States and in barring for ever their return there; that he would ask for the advice of the clergy of the three kingdoms (and we agreed that he should do nothing in this way without giving us

¹ Theiner, *ibid.* pp. 363—367.

² This shows that Clement XIV., like the ambassadors, assumed that the Jesuits had promoted the wide circulation of the Brief. As he kept every Jesuit at a distance from his person, and would listen to no word said on their behalf by their friends, naturally he was without the means of testing the allegations of their enemies.

time to inform the King beforehand);¹ that when he was supported by the advice of the clergy of France, Spain, Naples, and Portugal, he could act with freedom and honour; that their advice could not but be favourable, and would act as the sound of a bell to the other Catholic States; that then all the sovereigns together, or at least the greatest part, would call for the entire abolition of the Jesuits; that meanwhile he would proceed step by step towards this goal, and would prove his good faith more and more each day, acting, however, with prudence and method; that if the General of the Jesuits should die, he would suspend the nomination of his successor; but that he must conclude by insisting that they must give him time and show him consideration.

We shall find that the plan of procedure which Clement XIV. thus sketched out to de Bernis is the plan to which he substantially adhered in the sequel, but it must not escape notice that amidst the various requirements of his honour and conscience, he does not include that of making a genuine and independent inquiry into the charges brought against the Order he was prepared to punish. This cannot be because he did not advert to the need of such a step, for we shall find him referring to it, though ineffectively, on subsequent occasions. What then is the reason for an omission which will strike a fair-minded reader as so remarkable? We put the question because it is not impossible that the omission is due, not to Clement, but to de Bernis, who was not incapable of omitting a detail of the conversation which he knew would be much resented by his Court. If, however, the omission was due to Clement himself, it does not seem possible to explain it satisfactorily, but it may have been that he had the need of an equitable inquiry in his mind, and hoped to attend to it, but feared to propose it too bluntly to the Courts, and so relied on other reasons which they were more likely to respect. But on either hypothesis the omission is significant.

De Bernis' letter runs to great length, and includes other matters. Among these we need only notice one or two; namely, his judgment that time alone can manifest for certain whether Clement XIV. is really intending to suppress the Society

¹ In making this stipulation de Bernis shows his discretion, but also betrays his consciousness of the hollowness of his case. It would never have done to let the clergy express an unbiassed opinion. Why they might express it, as the French clergy had done in their *Avis* to Louis XV. of Dec. 1761 (see *THE MONTH* for May, 1902), and again in their Assembly of June, 1762; or like the Bishops of France and Spain, in union with many Bishops of other countries, when they wrote to Clement XIII. in praise of the *Apostolicum*.

or merely seeking to beguile the Courts and gain time; his anxiety to protect himself against the suspicions entertained by the Court of Spain that he was not serious and energetic enough in working for the suppression; and his further anxiety to secure his own recognition as the leader of the other ambassadors. In another letter, written a few days later, namely, on August 9th,¹ he refers again to the distrust of him felt by the Spanish Court because he had not pushed the matter on faster, and remarks, not unwisely, that "it would be dangerous to push the Pope too much—since if one should suspect him, or fill him with fear, one may force him perhaps to come out of his embarrassment by remitting all the business of the Courts to Congregations." The danger here mentioned is another point worthy of notice in the policy of the Courts. It has been said how, contrary to the time-honoured and reasonable methods of his predecessors, Clement XIV., unversed though he was in the art of diplomacy, and beset though he was by ambassadors bent on extorting a quite unprecedented exercise of Papal power, thought fit to deprive himself of the wisdom and experience of the Cardinals who were his natural counsellors. Dr. Bernis' anxiety expressed in the words just quoted shows that it was by the instigation of the Courts Clement XIV. had been led to take so infatuated a course, and that they felt it was only thus they could use him as their tool.

The protests of the ambassadors were not the last word Clement XIV. was destined to hear of the unfortunate episode of the *Cælestium munerum*. When the news reached Madrid through Azpuru's despatch of July 27th,² in which a copy of de Bernis' letter to Choiseul was enclosed, Carlos III. appears to have been struck by the proofs which the event had elicited of the Pope's really favourable dispositions, and still more of the zeal and ability with which de Bernis had been furthering the interests of the Courts. Accordingly he made no complaint of the *Cælestium munerum*, but sent back orders to Azpuru that the Holy Father should be left undisturbed during the interval of time for which he had stipulated. At Paris, when the news of the occurrence arrived, much more indignation was felt or simulated, the cause of which, however, lay more in the conduct of the Spanish Court than of the Pope. Although for the moment

¹ Theiner, *ibid.* p. 367.

² Danvila, *ibid.* p. 362.

the reading of de Bernis' despatch had restored that diplomatist to the King of Spain's good graces, he had previously been very suspicious of him, and had sent various letters about him to Paris, complaining that "he was at heart a friend of the Jesuits, and was endeavouring to shelve the demand (of the Courts) for their suppression." He had even gone on to entertain suspicions as to the sincerity of the French alliance.

The effect was to rouse Choiseul out of his indifference. "In France," he writes on August 2nd, in a private letter to de Bernis,¹ "people are persuaded it was I who caused (the Jesuits) to be expelled; in Spain they publish that I love them, and are sustaining them, and even, I fancy, that I am affiliated to them. Neither side speaks the truth; I swear it in the face of the universe. There is nothing about which all my life through I have felt so indifferent as about the Jesuits; but at present I am getting utterly tired of them, for they have become the mania of the Courts, to such an extent that at Madrid they forget about England and Mr. Pitt, and interests the most important and precious, to dream of the Jesuits and worry me with them. Let all the devils take them, and the Pope too if he does not relieve me of them."

The reference to Mr. Pitt, illustrates what has already been stated in former articles, namely, that by Choiseul the suppression of the Jesuits was desired, not for its own sake, but as a means to an end. He had recommended the King to expel them from France as a means of quieting down the turbulence of the Parlements; and he was recommending him to co-operate with Spain for their entire suppression in order that the latter power being so obliged might become the more wedded to the alliance against England.

Influenced by this consideration he now felt that he must take some drastic means to remove the suspicions of Carlos III., and concluded that the best course would be to go beyond him in applying pressure to the Pope. Accordingly, he sent for the Nuncio, Mgr. Giraud, and—to make the masquerade more effectual—contrived to see him in the presence of the Conde de Fuentes. After first asking and receiving an explanation of the affair of the *Cælestium munerum*, "he put on," writes Mgr. Giraud to Pallavicini, the Cardinal Secretary, "that ministerial tone with which former experience has made your

¹ Masson, *Le Cardinal de Bernis depuis son ministère*, p. 126. Letter of d'Ossun to Choiseul, dated July 27th.

Eminence familiar, and explained to me that the Kings of France and Spain, and the other princes of the House of Bourbon, were not the sort of persons to be trifled with; that after having led them to hope for the suppression of a Society which disturbed the peace of these Kings, and therefore also compromised the interests of religion, no grant or renewal of a favour ought to have been accorded to it; that his Majesty was weary of all this temporizing, and was sending a sign-manual by the same courier (as carried Giraud's despatch), ordering his Eminence Cardinal de Bernis to renew publicly before the Holy Father his demand for the total suppression of the Society, and if he failed to obtain it within six weeks, to abandon his embassy and make an open rupture; and de Bernis was further to add that, even if the other Ministers of the Bourbon Courts, in default of instructions, did not unite with him in this step, he would himself to the letter carry out this order from his Court."¹

The official despatch to de Bernis of which Choiseul thus spoke to Giraud, was dated August 7th. It gave "two months" instead of "six weeks" as the limit which must not be exceeded, and directed that the memorial to be presented to the Pope should be expressed "in the most friendly and considerate terms. But it was equally positive in declaring that the King's mind was made up, and foresaw that, if the assigned limit should be overstepped, it would not be possible to hinder the sovereigns of the House of Bourbon from breaking off all communication with a Pope who either plays with us, or is useless to us."² In the accompanying private letter of August 2nd, from which a portion has been already cited, Choiseul reveals to us more fully the direction his suspicions were taking. De Bernis believed that a secret correspondence over the head of the Ambassadors was being carried on between the Pope and the King of Spain's confessor, D. Joachim de Eleta, Roda being the intermediary. Choiseul thinks it may be so, but that if it is, it has originated with the Pope, not the King, and means that the Pope, feeling embarrassed by the circumstances and fearing to be poisoned by the Jesuits, is dangling a red hat before the eyes of the confessor, in the hope of inducing him to gain over the King of Spain to a reconciliation with the Society. The Courts, however, would set against the Pope's fears other fears of a more substantial nature, and would put an end to his petty Roman tricks.³

¹ Theiner, *ibid.* p. 369.

² Theiner, *ibid.* p. 370.

³ Theiner, *ibid.* p. 372.

The Nuncio's account of his interview with Choiseul reached Clement XIV. in due course and upset him very much. De Bernis foresaw this and withheld his own communication from Paris. He did not even venture to approach the Holy Father at once, but sent the Abbé Deshaies to solicit certain Briefs of an uncontentious character which were needed in France. What he hoped was that Clement would unburden his mind to Deshaies, and so it happened. He declared himself astonished that they should visit on him the wrongs done to them by his predecessor, when he was endeavouring to right them, and that they should suspect his good faith in regard to the Jesuit question—merely because he had asked for the time which was indispensable for observing the proper canonical rules, and those dictated by duty and decorum and by consideration for the clergy and princes of Christendom who had entrusted their seminaries, their missions, their colleges, and their universities to the Jesuits. The time he asked for could not be limited to two months, as within that space it would not be possible even to draw up the text of a Bull with an adequate array of motives.

Feeling now surer of his ground, de Bernis went himself to the Pope on August 29th and had a long audience, the report of which was written off to Choiseul on the next day. Clement began by reminding him of what he had already done to arrive at a happy solution of the impending questions.

Within the three months of his reign he had already done more against the Jesuits than any of his predecessors. Besides the Loretto affair, and that of Frascati, he had just forbidden the Roman Jesuits to preach in their churches during the Jubilee¹—a thing which had already caused a great sensation. He was preparing a censure of some of their books, and the suppression and reduction of several of their houses. He wished by these preliminaries to give the clergy a means of declaring themselves against this Order, as likewise (to give) the princes who had not yet petitioned him to unite themselves with the House of France. He suggested that France and Spain should assist him by negotiating with Germany, Poland, Genoa, and Venice. He protested that violence and precipitancy should never enter into his principles of conduct; that by force and menaces they would never

¹ At Loretto the Spanish confessorship had just been taken away from the Jesuits, and given to a Franciscan; at Frascati the episcopal seminary and part of their own college had been taken from them by the Cardinal of York; and whereas in all the Roman churches special services were to be held in connection with the Jubilee for the Pope's accession, the Jesuit churches were forbidden to join with the rest.

get him to do anything, but that he would always be docile to the wishes of "our King" (it is thus he speaks of his Majesty) as long as that prince did not ask him to renounce his duty as Pontiff and common father.¹

De Bernis here observed that the prince, not knowing his Holiness (as he did) might suppose he sought to gain time in the hopes of saving a Society which he was not accused of favouring, but whose power and attempts on his life he was believed to fear. On this the Pope entered into many details (why does not de Bernis do the same?) as to the new discoveries he had made of the intrigues of the Jesuits. He said that many Jesuits at different times had done good service to the Church and to letters, but the Society itself had always caused trouble. That he knew better than any one how much it was to be feared, but he was cured of all apprehension for his person. He had put himself in the hands of Providence, and fear would not prevent him from satisfying the princes of the House of France. It was his honour only, his conscience, and his common-sense which prevented him from hurrying through the affair of the suppression, and so failing to observe the rules of Canon Law, those of justice and of a sound and reasonable policy. On Bernis adding that it was not himself, who knew him, but the Kings of France and Spain whom it was necessary to convince, the Pope promised to write an autograph letter to the Kings of France and Spain assuring them of his true sentiments. Bernis, of course, jumped at the offer and arranged that the letter to his own Sovereign should be sent by the next courier. It was not sent so soon as that, and in an audience of September 18th, de Bernis had to press again for its despatch, and it was thus put into his hands on September 25th.² In the next article we shall give its text, for the present it is sufficient to say that it was a very obscure document, conceived in the most vague and general terms, but still such as in the circumstances amounted to a promise to grant the suppression. The letter to the King of Spain, on the other hand, was much more definite, but was not obtained till November 30th.

S. F. S.

¹ Theiner, *ibid.* p. 375.

² Masson, *op. cit.* p. 154, where the text of the Pope's letter is given.

Some Impressions of Bruges.

To the ordinary Englishman, a residence in foreign parts—out of his own land, in fact—is apt to savour of banishment: a friend in Canada goes so far as to speak of it as “doing time.” But for the Catholic, there are compensations, even in a state of exile, if he can breathe what is—or should be—his spiritual native air, and dwell among his spiritual kith and kin. And, of these compensations, Bruges offers—or so it seems to me—more than most places; more, certainly, than France, “until this tyranny be overpast.”

Yet, to be candid, Bruges did not attract me at the beginning of my sojourn; my first impressions were anything but favourable. The cobbles in the streets were very hard and uneven; the noises very insistent, the smells—*bouquet de Bruges*, the flippant call them—very pervasive. Nor, to tell the truth, did I take kindly to the chairs in church, as compared with the smug, and more or less easy, respectability of English pews. But I learned to manœuvre the cobbles, almost, not quite, to forget them; and chairs in church, once you get used to them, have their compensations too. You can sit where you like, you can even shift your place, chair and all, should occasion arise.

To give my impressions in some sort of order, I must begin with the Church of St. Walburga, close to which we were living. Now, I don't like the Renaissance style of architecture—that is the correct term, is it not?—and saintly or cherubic legs, in marble, “sprawling all over my head,” to quote Pugin's famous criticism of a certain church in Rome, do not quicken my sense of devotion. But “Sinte Walburga's Kerk” grows on you, as do the cobbles, the smells, and the chairs, and you come to tolerate the sprawling legs and cherubs miraculously defying the laws of gravitation.

St. Walburga's, by the way, was the first church dedicated to St. Francis Xavier. It bears the date 1643, and has a very Flemish statue of the Apostle of the Indies over the porch.

When the Society was suppressed in the eighteenth century, the church was bought by the city, re-dedicated to St. Walburga, and made one of the principal parish churches of Bruges. At the risk of giving "guide-book" information, I may add here that the Society has a beautiful church, dedicated to the Sacred Heart, in the Rue Flamande. It is built of brick, and is one example, among many, of what can be done with a somewhat unpromising material, together with colour and gilding. The church must be seen in order to appreciate its beauty. A devout Anglican, neither a ritualist nor enthusiast, said it made him think of Heaven.

As this is a record of impressions, not a guide-book, I must content myself with saying that the churches in Bruges are many and beautiful; that personally, I prefer that of St. Gilles, which always made me think of an English parish church before the Reformation. As an impression, let me note here, that the churches are veritable picture-galleries, a possible solution of the question of decoration, discussed some years ago in the *Tablet*. As works of art these pictures vary considerably, as may be supposed: as "furniture," there is no doubt as to their value and effectiveness.

As a further impression let me note that I do not like "vested" statues. The dresses in many cases, on festivals especially, are gorgeous, and often beautiful. But the statues themselves are not works of art, not even when of marble, when their Flemish "inspiration" is startlingly obvious, and St. Anthony in a very "Roman" vestment, of the colour appropriate to the season, strikes an Englishman as strange, to say the least; though wherein the difference consists between a real vestment and a painted plaster one, it would be hard to say. As hard as to decide why a Protestant tolerates a painted Crucifixion in a window, and "shies at" a Rood on a screen.

But the shrines at Bruges, whether artistic or otherwise, are evidently revered and much resorted to. They are, one and all, hung round with votive offerings, wax or silver, "counterfeit presentments" of legs, arms, bodies, even of cattle, testifying to special favours received through the intercession of our Lady, or of some other saint. It may be that, as the Spanish proverb has it, "God cures us, and the doctor pockets the money," but the Flemings certainly give the *Patroon*—St. Roch is a great favourite—full credit for his or her share, and have more confidence in prayer and offerings than in physic and physicians.

At street corners, over house-doors, even those of public-houses, you find shrines, simple or elaborate, that speak of familiar, child-like confidence in *onsere Lieve Vrouw*, our dear Lady, and "the whole Company of Heaven."

It was shortly after our arrival that a new *Curé* was inducted to the charge of the parish of Ste. Croix, just outside Bruges. An arch spanned the boundary-line nearest the city, and close at hand was a kind of wooden pavilion, raised on steps, where the formal reception by the churchwardens, *vicares*, and others was to take place. There was a large and very good-humoured crowd; there were carriages, trade wagons, sabot-makers, printers, butchers, bakers, confectioners, blacksmiths, each group with a statue of its patron saint, with men, women, boys, or girls carrying on their special craft—a house on wheels, with a typical Flemish family in it, occupied in ordinary household avocations. There was the inevitable band, with a zeal "not according to knowledge." After *Monsieur le Curé* had been duly received at the parish boundary, he and those in authority were driven to the church, where the Bishop's delegate duly inducted him.

Bruges, in fact, is a city of relics and processions. The most precious relic is that known as "The Precious Blood." Its history is told by the Senior Chaplain of the "Holy Blood Chapel" in his book, *The Precious Blood at Bruges*, which is well worthy of study. The devotion has, at all events, the fullest sanction of the Church, and is, as has been well said, more wonderful than the Relic itself. Week after week, since the year 1150, the people of Bruges have venerated the Relic, every Friday, from 6 or 6.30 in the morning till after the eleven o'clock Mass. Men, women, children, rich and poor, priest, nuns, lay-folk, pass up the steps of the "throne," kiss reverently the glass phial that, for them, contains the Blood washed by Joseph of Arimathea from the wounds of the dead Christ. In presence of such age-long, fervent, unquestioning faith and devotion the critical spirit is constrained to silence; we can only worship, as do all others, and worshipping know that it is to the price of our redemption that our homage is paid.

Year after year, on the first Monday in May, all Bruges—and many hundreds of others—turn out for the Procession of the Holy Blood. The State sends troops to guard the Precious Relic in its golden, jewelled reliquary, borne by the Bishop of the diocese, surrounded by his canons: sends lancer wagons

to carry the symbolical "groups" of Bethlehem and Calvary. Men, women, and children take part in the procession which tells the life-story of our Lord: a stranger—known only to the Bishop—carries a huge cross in the character of Christ Himself. Watching it all, as it passes along the streets, you forget that it is a moving picture of to-day; you are back in Jerusalem, watching that first procession to Calvary. That is Flemish devotion to the Precious Blood.

There are two other "great" processions: Corpus Christi, at which the Governor of the Province, the Burgomaster, the Military Commandant, and all the *haute noblesse* attend in state. Then there is the annual procession of the parish of Notre Dame, notable for the fact that, in its honour—alone of parochial processions—the great bell of the belfry tolls the whole time. The bell—bourdon they call it—once belonged to the Church of Notre Dame. Removed to the belfry at the time of the Revolution, it annually does homage in token of its original allegiance to our dear Lady.

As final impressions, let me note that the Flemings are great church-goers—to funerals especially. Whereat, by the way, the local "use" obtains of kissing a paten—kept for the purpose—at the Offertory. Relatives and friends sit in the spacious sanctuary; on many occasions the whole congregation—apparently—pass up to the sanctuary to kiss the paten, in token of sympathy. At fashionable funerals many consider that they have fulfilled their obligation when this has been done, and promptly leave the church.

Next, that Bruges is more Catholic, and has fewer Socialists than any city in Belgium. Still there are Socialists and "priest eaters"—not confined to the masses, these latter, by any means. There is much charity and much poverty, the mutual relations of which it might be difficult as well as invidious to determine. Whether the "New Bruges," which is to arise—so its promoters say—when the Ship Canal is opened, will be an improvement on the old, sleepy, easy-going town, is a question. The Brugeois has not worked excessively for several centuries; he lives chiefly on charity and doles of bread; the new Bruges will be populated by a more energetic race of Germans, Jews, *hoc genus omne*, who will vote Liberal, if not Socialist, and will care more for labour-parades under the red flag than for processions of the Precious Blood. At present Bruges returns two Conservatives and one Liberal member; those who know best

fear—not without reason—that the new voters will “swamp” the older ones. Temporal prosperity costs many things.

But *Bruges la Vivante* is yet to be, and *Bruges la Morte*, if less prosperous, as men count prosperity, than other cities of Belgium, has treasures of faith, piety, and devotion, the loss of which would be a dear price to pay even for restoration to her old commercial supremacy of the middle ages. And, as said, she offers “compensations” even for evils; not less to herself for being “behind the age.”

FRANCIS W. GREY.

Flotsam and Jetsam.

The French Republic and its Monastic Foes.

IN our last issue, we took occasion to protest against the common assumption that the religious congregations upon whom the French Government has laid so heavy a hand, have been convicted of having done anything to merit such treatment, or have even been specifically accused of any offence against the State, except in the solitary instance of the Assumptionists and their newspaper *La Croix*.

At the very moment when our protest appeared, evidence to confirm it was furnished in the remarkable valedictory letter contributed by the late M. de Blowitz to the *Times* of December the 31st. He, a witness who will scarcely be suspected of undue partiality, while stating the case against this one unfortunate Congregation in terms as sweeping as its bitterest enemies can desire, plainly acknowledges that against the others, even the Jesuits themselves, there is as yet no evidence at all, and that none is likely to be discovered, writing thus :

The anti-Clerical policy now pursued with such an effort of passion constitutes, to my mind, a futile action which may become dangerous. There was good reason for suppressing the order of the Assumptionists. They had become a political band. They had made the Cross a flag, sheltering behind it every form of hatred, lie, and calumny. A special and energetic law was needed to extirpate them from the soil of the Republic. But, once their case was settled, it would have been enough to keep a constantly vigilant eye on the Jesuit schools, without going further and indulging in an attitude of hatred and wrath against men, who, in the eyes of the world, had accepted a life of abnegation, and who by the very nature of their organization could not, save in rare instances, constitute a danger for public order and security.

This does not look like the "militant anti-Republicanism" of which they are so commonly assumed to stand convicted.

Another Leo Taxil.

Our generation, as we all know, being educated and enlightened, differs from those that went before it in the scientific soundness and solidity of its judgments, testing everything by the touchstone of reason, and as to history in particular refusing to tolerate such absurdities as were once palmed off on human credulity. We all remember what indignant scorn was poured out, and most justly, upon those who suffered themselves to be duped by the absurdities put forth in the name of Miss Diana Vaughan, in which she professed to reveal the iniquities practised in Masonic Lodges. Who would suppose that any other fable of like description could fail to be at once cried down by an intelligent public, or that it could even be accepted by it as sober truth? But "circumstances alter cases," and we find a work no whit less outrageous than hers apparently accepted as a serious authority by those whom we might expect to know better.

This is Mr. Charles William Heckethorn's *Secret Societies of all Ages and Countries*,¹ which we find placed in the Gallery of the British Museum, a position which is reserved for books likely to be much in requisition, and whence they can be obtained at all times, even when on account of darkness or fog the libraries are inaccessible. Nor does such a distinction appear to be uncalled for, as the book bears marks of constant use.

Its author claims for it that it must be accepted as the standard work on its subject. "In English," he ingenuously declares, "there is none that can compete with it." That in making such a claim he speaks truly we would fain hope, for we should be loth to believe that another writer can be found who is willing gravely to publish as matters of fact such foul and malignant fictions, which bear on their face the brand of falsehood, and into the truth of which, on the supposition least injurious to him, he has never taken the slightest trouble to inquire.

A very few samples will suffice to exhibit the character of the book,—which shall all be taken from the chapter devoted to the Jesuits. That these *are* a secret society he demonstrates in

¹ London, 1897. 2 Vols. This appears as a second edition, but, as the author tells us, is really a new work.

a passage which our readers must be left to interpret for themselves, for we must own to having not the faintest conception of the meaning. He writes :¹

There is considerable analogy and similitude between Masonic and Jesuitic degrees. The Jesuits tread down the shoe and bare the knee, because Ignatius Loyola thus presented himself at Rome and asked for the confirmation of the Order. The initials of the Masonic passwords correspond exactly with those of the Jesuit officers : *Temporalis* (Tubalcain) ; *Scholasticus* (Shibboleth) ; *Coadjutor* (Ch(g)iblum) ; *Nostar* (Noturna). Many other analogies might be established.

With the last statement we can fully agree. It should be no more difficult to establish "analogies" in this fashion, than to find evidence in "talking pictures" that Bacon wrote Shakespeare and all the rest of the literature of his time.

Here is the manner in which we are told that Jesuits have enlisted recruits.²

¹ Having . . . succeeded in becoming the educators of the young, they were able to mould the youthful mind according to their secret aims. If, then, after a number of years they detected in the pupil a blind and fanatic faith, conjoined with exalted pietism and indomitable courage, they proceeded to initiate him ; in the opposite case they excluded him. The proof lasted twenty-four hours, for which the candidate was prepared by long and severe fasting, . . . and just before the trial a powerful drink was administered to him. Then the mystic scene began—diabolical apparitions, evocation of the dead, representations of the flames of hell, skeletons, moving skulls . . .

and so forth, *crescendo*, till the neophyte, having crawled through a narrow opening, "found himself in a square dungeon, whose floor was covered with a mortuary cloth, on which stood three lamps, shedding a feeble light on the skulls and skeletons ranged around."

"This" (the author has the audacity to declare) "was the cave of Evocation, the Black Chamber, so famous in the annals of the Fathers, and the existence of which has repeatedly been proved before secular courts."

Here, finally, is the end and object of it all.³

Blessing the Dagger was a ceremony performed when the Society thought it necessary for their interests to assassinate some king, prince, or other important personage. By the side of the Dark Chamber there

¹ Vol. i. p. 285.

² P. 286.

³ P. 288.

usually was a small cell called the "Cell of Meditation." In its centre arose a small altar, on which was placed a painting covered by a veil, and surrounded by torches and lamps, all of a scarlet colour. Here the brother whom the Order wished to prepare for the deed of blood received his instructions. On a table stood a casket, covered with strange hieroglyphics, and bearing on its lid the representation of the Lamb. On its being opened, it was found to contain a dagger, wrapped in a linen cloth, which one of the officers of the Society took out and presented to the hierophant, who, after kissing and sprinkling it with holy-water, handed it to one of the deacons, who attached it like a cross to a rosary, and, hanging it round the neck of the alumnus, informed him that he was the Elect of God, and told him what victim to strike, &c., &c., &c.

It is ever into such fantastic nonsensicalities that tales of this species run which, like the lamp in *Christabel*, are "all made out of the maker's brain." "Look," once said a Neapolitan orator, reproving his countrymen for their indolence and want of enterprise, "Look at those English! They spend six months of the year beneath the snow, drinking gin: but in the other six they impose their baneful yoke upon half the world." This was pretty well: but we are not aware that even in Naples such childish utterances were ever reckoned as a standard source of information.

Reviews.

I.—MR. ANDREW LANG ON SCOTTISH HISTORY.¹

THERE has been of late a very remarkable increase in works upon Scottish History. To say nothing of the publications of the learned societies, about which our reviews tell us far too little, and of the *œuvres de vulgarisation*, of which they tell us too much, we have recently seen volumes of permanent importance in quick succession from Dr. Hay Fleming, Professor Hume Brown, Mr. Mathieson, and others. Mr. Andrew Lang has taken a leading place in this literary movement. For while the quality of his work (we will not push the comparison into details) is worthy to rank with the best of those whom we have named, the bulk of his output is greater than that of any three of his competitors taken together.

Of the three works before us we must needs pass briefly over those which relate to the Gowrie mystery. The judgment to be passed on that subject depends on a great number of small details, a brief summary of which would be impossible. Those who love a sound historical study, full of action, detail, bright pictures, and sane reasoning, will read the book itself without the incentive of knowing how it is going to end.

The volume on the History of Scotland contains much that is of interest to us Catholics. Indeed Mr. Lang has here taken what is almost a new departure among Scottish historians. "In his opinion, the hardships of the Catholics, after the Reformation, have been rather cavalierly treated by many of our historians, and he has therefore dwelt upon a point too much neglected."² It must not however be supposed that our author

¹ *James VI. and the Gowrie Mystery*. Longmans, 1902. xiv. 280 pp. *The Gowrie Conspiracy, Confessions of George Sprot*. London: Printed for private circulation (Roxburghe Club), 1902. *A History of Scotland from the Roman occupation*. By Andrew Lang. Vol. II. Blackwood, 1902. vi. 575 pp.

² P. vi.

has run to the opposite extreme, and written of our co-religionists in the most favourable terms he can possibly find. On the contrary, his strictures appear to us to be at times unduly severe. Not that he ever exceeds the limits of fair comment on the evidence as he sees it, but we shall show cause for believing that the evidential value of some of his authorities is not exactly such as he conceives.

Of the episodes interesting to us the first is the fall of the ancient Church with the overthrow of the French power in Scotland. Here (as elsewhere) there is some very plain speaking about the faults of the Reformers. Then comes the story of Winzet,¹ told with much sympathy and vividness. Next the romantic epoch of Mary's reign. We criticized last year the chief features of Mr. Lang's presentment of this story in reviewing his *Mystery of Mary Stuart*, and we now only note that he hardly appreciates the utter weakness of the case against the Queen in the Babington Plot. He relies upon Mendoza's letter of September 10th,² which was professedly founded on information, which we now know to have been supplied by Walsingham himself. He also believes that Walsingham's "trap" to ensnare the Queen, simply consisted in his "arranging a means of communication" with her friends, leaving himself the occasion of inspecting their letters. But the worst infamy of Elizabeth's Machiavellian Minister thus passes unnoticed, for he kept several *agents provocateurs* among Mary's friends, so that not only the conspirators' correspondence, but also the developments of the plot were thoroughly under his control.

Mr. Lang's fairness and his appreciation of the sufferings of Catholics come out well in his account of Father Ogilvie. Yet he falls short of doing complete justice to that hero, by conceiving that Ogilvie "was in the position" of John Knox "with his prayers for a Phineas," whereas, in effect, the Jesuit died rather than take up that position.³

Of Fathers Creighton and Persons it is acutely said that they took to politics "with *boyish* eagerness."⁴ Indeed the work teems with neat epigrams. Knox has "faith that moved political mountains,"⁵ Drake is "the most notorious of the sea-thieves who preyed upon the commerce of the world;"⁶ the preachers, "the storm-centre of the situation."⁷ The remarks

¹ P. 90.² P. 320.³ P. 508.⁴ P. 282.⁵ P. 27.⁶ P. 339.⁷ P. 350.

on the need of violence to uphold the new kirk,¹ the story of poor Habakkuk,² and many other passages invite full quotation, did space allow.

Mr. Lang does not disguise the fact that the period taken as a whole is a gloomy one. The Reformation brought "not peace but the sword." This is a note which is constantly sounded throughout the volume, that on which it ceases, that with which we must leave it. There are those who consider this the golden age of religion in Scotland. "The Kirk of Scotland," says Calderwood, "was now come to her perfection, and the greatest puritie she ever atteaned unto, both in doctrine and discipline: so that her beautie was admirable to forraigne kirks."³

To us this "purity" resembles a dark and foul backwater in the course of a river, which in its lower reaches becomes great and noble. Except for its future, its present would be repulsive. But its future is to be so great that no part of its early course can be without interest.

2.—A COMMENTARY ON JOSUE.⁴

Father von Hummelauer must be a diligent writer. His commentaries contain discussions on a vast number of minute points, as well as general theories based on a careful comparison of details, and they presuppose an arduous process of collection and reflection—for he is no mere transcriber of the conclusions of others. Yet all this notwithstanding, his volumes succeed one another at remarkably short intervals. It is not very much more than a year since we reviewed his Deuteronomy, and now his Josue is before us. It must be specially satisfying to him to have finished this latter volume, for it means that he has now provided us with a continuous commentary of the historical books of the Old Testament, from Genesis to Second Samuel (*i.e.*, Second Kings in the Vulgate version) included. That is a good achievement for a single writer, and it meets a want under which as Catholics we have long laboured. It is of the commentaries as commentaries, or expositions of the text, that we are thinking for the moment, for we have to count back not by decades but by centuries in order to reach the time when such a commentary, up to the knowledge of the day, last

¹ P. 377.

² P. 338.

³ P. 401.

⁴ *Cursus Scriptura Sacra. Commentarius in Librum Josue.* Auctore Francisco von Hummelauer, S.J. Paris: Lethielleux.

came from a competent Catholic writer. Biblical erudition has advanced enormously since then, especially during the nineteenth century, but in Father von Hummelauer we have a scholar intimate with the literature of the subject and well able to take it into account, as he has done in his contributions to the *Cursus Scripturæ Sacræ*.

This continuous exposition of the text is the more generally useful side of a commentary on Holy Scripture, but it is not the most fascinating at the present day, and the reader will turn first to see what Father von Hummelauer has to contribute to the problem regarding the composition of Josue. What in these days may be called the accepted view is that this book of Holy Scripture belongs to the same class as the five preceding books, and that the whole ought, therefore, to be called the Hexateuch rather than the Pentateuch. This is argued from the nature of the subject, and the character of the style. From the nature of the subject, inasmuch as the book of Josue is needed to complete the previous books, of whose promises it narrates the fulfilment, and must therefore have entered into the design of the writer of those previous books; from the character of the style, which is composite in Josue, as it is in the previous books, but as it is not in Judges and Samuel. Of these reasons the first which is disputed by Father von Hummelauer does not seem so very forcible. No doubt there is an intimate connection of subject-matter, but why may not the writer of the previous books have confined his scope to the history of Moses or, having intended to go further, have died and left the completion of his work to others. It is therefore by the character of the style and method of composition that we must be chiefly guided. There, however, the evidence of continuity of authorship is confessedly difficult. That traces of D are frequent and easy to detect is argued by the critics, and Father von Hummelauer acknowledges all these as Deuteronomisms, or similarities to what we find in Deuteronomy; but he thinks them sufficiently explained by the influence that book would have had on a writer who assimilated its ideas thoroughly before writing himself. Although the critics infer that Josue being composite must contain strains of J, E (or JE), and P, they confess freely the difficulty of detecting them, and Father von Hummelauer cites some of their testimonies, as for instance Steuernagel's, who says, "To tell the truth, in most of the sections there is such a conspicuous absence of all the indications peculiar to J and E,

that, whilst obliged to assume that the narrative part is derived from J, we are obliged also to acknowledge that its origin is completely obscured by deuteronomical revision."

Father von Hummelauer, however, freely allows that the style of Josue is composite, and to account for the fact has a theory, which is in continuity with the theory he expounded at great length in his volume on Deuteronomy—which THE MONTH of September, 1901, summarized in its review of that work. Arguing from the duplicates between Josue and Judges, of which there are several (cp. Jos. xiv. 15, xv. 13—19, with Jud. i. 10—15, 20; Jos. xiii. 13, xv. 63, with Jud. i. 21; Jos. xxiv. 28—31, with Jud. ii. 6—9, &c.), and from the general character of the text, he infers that there was a common source to both, and that this was a series of annals, which recorded each year the events that had occurred during its course. These annals need not all have been public documents, some may have been private and local, the similarity of style being determined by the force of custom or imitation, in an age when literary power was as yet undeveloped. He supposes that they contained histories of the wars or conspicuous events of the year, the laws then passed, and statistics of persons and places. Such annals, from the nature of the case, would have been contemporary, but they were not the book of Josue itself, only the quarry from which it was hewn. In the book itself he bids us distinguish, as in the case of the previous books, between the original form in which it was composed by the author and the restored form which it received at a much later date. Even in its original form he conceives it must have varied in many respects from the annalistic sources, through the author not desiring to record every event he found in his materials, but only such as subserved the religious motive he had in view. An author so minded would make selections according to his own idea of what was proper, and arrange his matter not on the rigid chronological plan of his sources, but after a "logical" order which required him to separate histories from statistics, and so on. Moreover, we must take into account that he may have had very incomplete and defective annals to draw from. The date of this original author of Josue, Father von Hummelauer assigns to the beginning of the age of David, arguing from such indications as occur in iv. 9; vi. 25; xv. 63, &c.

But Father von Hummelauer is never tired of insisting that our present text is a *textus restitutus* belonging probably to the time of Esdras, and that the problem of the Redactor was difficult

because his materials were very defective, owing to the ravages of time and the persecutions of evil Kings. It is presumable, he reminds us, that the public copies of the Scriptures had been mostly destroyed, only those made for private use coming into the Redactor's hands, and that these will often have been mere selections, often carelessly copied, mutilated and interpolated, according as the propensity prevailed to omit what might disedify or to insert what was pious but ill-attested. Having to work under these conditions a Redactor of the age of Esdras or thereabouts could only do his best, and would be compelled, not wishing to lose precious matter, to insert it here and there in the best context he could find, just as we find to be the case. Nor was it necessary that the hand of God should intervene to secure a greater literary completeness, which was not needed for the spiritual utility of the Scriptures.

Such is Father von Hummelauer's theory of the formation of our present text of Josue, and, whether one accepts it or not, it must be allowed that he argues with much ability on its behalf. As in our notices of his commentaries on the Pentateuch, we are confining ourselves to the task of calling attention to the outlines of a theory which deserves to be considered. To judge it adequately would require more study than we have been able to give, and we must confine ourselves to a single criticism, which is one of regret that Father von Hummelauer, who has given us so much, has not included a detailed Elenchus of the evidences alleged by those who believe the component elements of Josue to be J, E, P and D. He has given us the opinions of some leading critics on this point, one of which has been quoted higher up, and he discusses many of these points when they occur in the course of his textual expositions, but in a commentary of so high a quality one would have liked to have the fullest means of forming an independent judgment on a question of such interest.

3.—IS THERE A RELIGION OF NATURE?¹

We have here the attempt of a devout and earnest thinker and observer to vindicate the ways of God to men, and to establish the divine law as the supreme rule of human life, as against the "Naturalism" which is the logical outcome of materialistic science.

¹ Lectures given in St. Paul's Cathedral, January, 1902, by P. N. Waggett, M.A., Society of St. John the Evangelist. London: S.P.C.K. 87 pp.

That the lectures taken in their entirety and as drawing out a connected scheme, are likely to be of great practical service to the cause of supernatural religion, we fear we cannot venture to think. The author speaks plainly and clearly when he deals with science, but when he comes to the constructive part and the development of the system he advocates, there is a vagueness about his utterances which makes it difficult to be sure of his precise meaning, and, to judge from our own experience, there will be readers who remain in doubt to the end as to what precisely the system is. It appears to us to be a serious mistake, on the very threshold of an inquiry which from its nature should be confined to matter of pure reason, to bring in "Bible Christianity," and to lay down as a guiding principle, the duty which lies on every Christian "to be studying the New Testament, so as to find out what is Christianity,"—so that "we must endeavour always as we go along to be reading the Bible in such a way as to find out in its meanings what may fit, life as it is actually lived."¹ Those who are ready to admit this in any sense, and still more "the sacramental system of the Church," which is elsewhere postulated in like manner,² do not seem likely to need arguments to prove that there is such a thing as religion at all. Moreover, there seems to be a reluctance, in deference to modern ideas, to drive the case for religion home, in the only manner which is calculated to produce a practical impression. When, for example, after a long review of the relations between soul and body, and of the necessity of not allowing the flesh to have all its own way, we are finally told that there must be "a constitutional government of the body by the spirit," the words being italicised for emphasis,³ we feel that the conclusion is too academic to meet the requirements of the terrible realities which are hinted at rather than portrayed.

At the same time, there are here and there acute and even profound observations, which for those who can appreciate them may avail to do the desired work, striking as they do at the very heart of the enemy's position.

Such, for example, is one with which we meet at the outset, and which raises anticipations not destined to be afterwards adequately fulfilled. The passage shall be quoted entire.⁴

Religion must either be a part of Nature or not. If it is a part of Nature, why are you jealous of it (I am speaking to an imaginary

¹ P. 22.² P. 46.³ P. 33.⁴ P. 15.

Naturalist);¹ why do you wish people to believe less in this system of thought and conduct—in the Ten Commandments, for example—if they are a part of Nature, a part of a general order by which the best is to be produced?

And if, on the other hand, you say Religion is not a part of Nature, then you are in the situation which we arrived at just now. You are alleging that there exists somehow, either somewhere or nowhere—and if nowhere, then we are landed in the purest idealism, which is the essence of all that is contradictory to Naturalism—there exists some force which is able to affect the progress of men's lives, and which is not Nature—not inside the limits of man's natural constitution.

We are landed therefore at the very outset in a dilemma. Either Religion is part of Nature, and ought to be maintained, or it is not a part of Nature, and therefore Naturalism, as a sufficient theory of existence, falls to the ground.

The following likewise seems to contain a great truth which is too little considered.²

It is difficult indeed, I think, to consider the doctrine of descent, and to consider on the other hand human life as it is. But are you going to ask me to give up human life *which I know*, in return for a doctrine of descent which has been modified and re-modified three times—to speak of broad and important modifications—not within my lifetime, but within my student-time? Are you going to ask me to give up the solid, inbred, irrefutable knowledge which I have of my own soul and of my mother's soul—of that life of the soul which has flowed between us these forty years? Are you going to ask me to give up that knowledge, because I cannot get it to square with what appears to be the logical outcome of the doctrine of descent as sketched by Darwin?

We must confess our regret that Mr. Waggett should not have given us more of this kind of argument on a question as to which natural reason alone will be accepted as a basis by those for whose benefit it has to be discussed.

4.—A DICTIONARY OF CHRISTIAN ARCHÆOLOGY AND LITURGY.³

It is not often that the reviewer meets a book of which he can say with perfect honesty that it supplies a long-felt want. But in the case of the work before us the hackneyed formula is no idle compliment. There is absolutely no work of reference

¹ By this term, as the author explains, he signifies "not one who studies natural history, but one who holds the general view of the world which has been called *Naturalism*."

² P. 53.

³ *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*. Edit. Dom F. Cabrol. Fascicule I. A to Accusation. Imp. 8vo. Paris: Letouzey, 1903.

in any language which covers or even professes to cover the same ground; and yet the matters treated therein are all of vital interest to those concerned with ecclesiastical studies. The *Real-Encyclopædie* of Kraus, like the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* of Chetham and Wace, is limited to the archæology of the early centuries. The French archæological dictionary of Gay was never completed, and in any case is now somewhat out of date. The only available works to which one can turn for such information as the new undertaking of Dom Cabrol aims at supplying are for the most part mere handbooks, and in these space is necessarily restricted and only the barest outlines can be given. With regard to the execution of the instalment (288 columns) which is contained in the first fascicule now before us, we may confess ourselves very well satisfied. Although the articles are not, for the most part, written by scholars who possess an European reputation as specialists in the subjects they treat of, we are not by any means sure that such work is always done most satisfactorily by those whose lives are given to original research. A careful and intelligent student of the materials provided by others will often possess in a higher degree the sense of order and due proportion, and will be much more concerned to supply adequate bibliographical references—the one feature of supreme importance to nine persons out of ten who consult such a dictionary as this. In this matter of bibliographical references the work edited by Dom Cabrol seems to us worthy of the highest praise. We might select the admirable article on the Abercius inscription as a model of thoroughness of bibliographical detail, and we may also commend in passing the excellent photogravure of the two existing fragments of the *stèle* now presented to the Pope and united in the same museum through the generosity respectively of the Sultan and Professor W. M. Ramsay. This graceful tribute to the spiritual head of Christendom on the part of two such distinguished representatives of Mohammedanism and Anglicanism might well have been placed on record here. May we be permitted also to make a small criticism? The writer of the article does not make it clear that there are three entirely different redactions of the Greek Life of Abercius. That published by Boissonade is quite distinct from the Metaphrast text which appears in the Bollandists, while a third and longer version (found only in two MSS., one in Paris, the other, if we may trust the catalogue of Papadopoulos, in Jerusalem) has not yet been printed.

This last is independent of and probably more primitive than the other two, as may be inferred from the fact that a casual topographical indication which it contains, having been communicated to Professor Ramsay by the writer of this notice, enabled him to discover the site of Lysias, one of the cities in the conventus of Synnada.¹ Another interesting historical article is that devoted to the Abgar legend, in which however reference ought certainly to have been made to the valuable papers of the Mechitarist Father, P. J. Dashian, "Zur Abgar-Sage," in the *Vienna Oriental Journal* for 1890.

But it is undoubtedly the liturgical articles which form the most distinctive feature of the work, and which more than any other add to its utility. The articles *Abécédaire*, *Abjuration*, and especially *Absoute* and *Acclamation* contain a great store of most valuable information which it would be impossible to find so ready to hand anywhere else. No doubt it would be easy to add other useful details. We should have liked, for instance, to learn a little more about the formula of acclamation, *Christus vincit*, *Christus regnat*, *Christus imperat*, which appears amongst the "laudes" of various coronations, e.g., that of Matilda, consort of William the Conqueror, as well as much earlier than this, and which is curiously associated with the inscriptions on mediæval bells. But Dom Cabrol has given us so much that is useful and really new that it would be ungracious to ask for more. We may in any case express our satisfaction that the limits of time assigned in the prospectus have not been too rigidly adhered to. It would be a great pity if all facts and institutions of later date than the tenth century were excluded from the scope of the volume. Curiously enough for a work produced so largely under Benedictine auspices some of the least satisfactory articles in the volume seem to us to be those dealing with monastic life. Perhaps the early period to which its range is formally limited is to some extent responsible for this inadequate treatment. We will only add that music, witness the article *Accent*, and architecture, as illustrated by *Abside*, receive a due measure of attention, and that the illustrations are numerous and good of their kind. We must express therefore our earnest hope that this most useful undertaking may meet with the support which it deserves and that the publishers may be able to issue the subsequent fascicules with that promptitude and regularity which will conduce more than anything else to its ultimate financial success.

¹ See *Athenæum*, July, 1891; and Ramsay, *Cities of Phrygia*, pp. 713 and 754.

5.—BOOKS OF DEVOTION.¹

With the end and object of this book it is impossible not to feel most hearty sympathy. Whatever exception may be taken to much that appears in the guise of religious instruction, nothing but good can come of a sincere endeavour to induce men to think more of God and eternity, and less of the cares and pleasures of their mortal state, and to recognize in prayer at once a duty and a privilege. This it is that our author essays to do, with an earnestness and zeal that must strike the most casual reader. What he means by the term "Devotion" he thus explains:²

Devotion is the dedication to the service of God in Christ of all that is true, all that is honourable, all that is just, all that is pure, and lovely, and of good report in human life. The highest of all devotion is the dedication of men themselves, with their souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and living sacrifice to God; for the glory of God is manifested in living men, who freely yield themselves to Him to do His will.

Marking how the world seems to be more and more departing from such a standard, how far the very name of Christ is commonly ignored in Christendom, how "our public schools and universities are turning out so many highly educated, able, *Pagan* English gentlemen,"—he has sought to find a remedy for the evil by collecting together whatever he thinks likely to inspire a better frame of mind. This he has sought in every direction, for—he writes—"Bees collect their honey from all sorts of flowers, and the holy thoughts stored up in the Church's Treasury of her devotional books have been gathered from many sources."

It is in the widest sense of the word an exceedingly Catholic" anthology that he has thus compiled from the stores of "the Church." St. Augustine, St. Bonaventure, Thomas à Kempis, St. Ignatius of Loyola, Louis of Grenada, Alphonsus Rodriguez, Bishop Andrewes, George Herbert, Archbishop Laud, Drexelius, John Bunyan, St. Francis of Sales, Bishop Baxter, William Law, Dr. Johnson, John Wesley—these—to name but a few—are amongst those whom he has requisitioned. As a necessary consequence it is not always easy to harmonize the various contributions, and notes have to be

¹ *Books of Devotion.* By the Rev. Charles Boddington (Oxford Library of Practical Theology). London: Longmans, 1903.

² P. x.

added, as on the doctrine of Invocation of Saints¹ and the Real Presence,² which do little to mend matters. But in spite of so serious a drawback, the more widely the book is read the better.

In a few instances there may be holes to pick for those who are so inclined. It is evident, for example, from the description given of the *Spiritual Exercises*, that Mr. Boddington has studied not the work of St. Ignatius himself, but some of the many variations played upon it, which frequently disguise its most characteristic features. So it has been in the present instance. Of the samples culled to illustrate the nature of the famous book,³ there is scarcely one of which any trace is to be found in the original.

6.—LUCIUS FLAVUS.⁴

Father Spillmann's latest Catholic story belongs to the class of *Ben Hur* and *Quo Vadis*. The time chosen is the period which precedes and includes the Destruction of Jerusalem, and the scene of the greater part is in the Holy City. Rabbi Sadoc, a rich Jew of Antioch, of the lineage of Aaron, and nearly related to the high priestly family, has a daughter of sixteen and a son of eight years old. He is allured to Jerusalem by an artful message from Ananus, the son of Caiphas, who wishes by marrying the daughter to his own son, Eleazar, and getting rid of the old man and perhaps of the son too, to obtain possession of their fortune. They make the journey, but close to Bethany are attacked by the famous robber chieftain, Ben Gioras, the leader of the *Sicarii*, who it turns out is in league with Ananus, but is also working a plot within a plot on his own behalf. Just when the Rabbi Sadoc, having been wounded, is being left to die, and his children are being carried off, a band of Roman soldiers, under Lucius Flavius, their centurion, comes up, defeats the bandits, takes their chief prisoner, and rescues the girl, whom with the old man they deposit in the safe keeping of a Christian family at Bethany. Through this incident the fortunes of the Rabbi Sadoc and his children become involved in the fierce struggles for independence between Jew and Roman at that critical period, and fall also under the gentle influence of the infant Christian community. Thamar, the Rabbi's daughter, and the young centurion, Lucius Flavius, are the central characters round whose life-story the tale winds, and the opportunity is thus afforded of introducing the reader to

¹ P. 105.

² P. 189.

³ P. 132.

⁴ *Lucius Flavius*. By the Rev. Joseph Spillmann, S.J. Herder, Freiburg-im-Breisgau and St. Louis.

many historical characters—Ananus, his father Caiphas and his son Eleazar, Berenice and her sister Drusilla, the procurator Gessius Florus, whose brutalities precipitated the insurrection, Claudius Lysias, the Tribune who had charge of St. Paul, Nero, Vespasian, Titus, and others; and among the Christians, SS. Peter and Paul.

Father Spillmann knows how to tell a story, and although, in this instance he exceeds the usual limits, and occupies nearly 600 pages, readers who have once warmed into the book will not be tempted to lay it down. As regards the history, he relies naturally on Josephus (who himself appears among the characters), and he has many striking descriptions of the scenes and tragedies enacted during those few stirring months.

The writer of an historical romance is allowed to attribute to his historical characters words and actions for which there is no historical warrant; indeed he is compelled to do so, for historical records are scanty and discontinuous in regard to details and the individualization of characters, whereas a story which did not fill in the gaps from conjecture or imagination, would be a story without its most essential element. This right, however, of an author if necessary is dangerous, for in drawing on his imagination for such details, he is led by his own inferences, which are not always conformable to the objective truth. We have had experience of this danger in many modern novels, which precisely in this way propagate misrepresentations of Catholic beliefs and practices, for which they obtain a wide currency. Father Spillmann has evidently been at the pains to catch accurately the spirit and tone of primitive Christian society, and speaking generally, he has succeeded. He is truer to the life, as it seems to us, than the writer of *Quo Vadis*, especially in the scenes where the Apostles are introduced. Still the student of Christian Origins must judge him vastly too "previous" in representing the family at Mary's house as kneeling down before her picture and the burning lights set in front of it, to beg for her intercession; and surely it is a pity to forestall critical solutions of historical problems in regard to certain relics.

7.—THE TRUTH OF PAPAL CLAIMS.¹

The publication of Archbishop Merry del Val's *Truth of Papal Claims* was occasioned by a short correspondence, given

¹ *The Truth of Papal Claims.* By Raphael Merry del Val, D.D., Archbishop of Nicæa. London: Sands and Co., 1902.

in the Preface, which appeared about a year ago in the *Church Times*. A then recent book on *Papal Claims* by Dr. F. N. Oxenham, the pastor of an Anglican congregation at Rome, had engaged the Archbishop's attention, and he had selected the subject for a course of English sermons in a Roman church. One morning he got a letter suggesting that he must either publish his sermons or lie under the imputation of saying to a select audience what he would be ashamed to say in public. A minor impertinence of this extraordinary letter was that it addressed the Archbishop as "Rev. Sir." This his Grace naturally overlooks, but since to the letter was added a postscript stating that any reply received Dr. Oxenham would consider himself free to publish, of course he got no reply at all. Accordingly, his evident object being to get a gratuitous advertisement for his own book, he wrote a letter to the *Church Times*, to which the Archbishop did reply, and was replied to in return. The contrast between Dr. Oxenham's hectoring discourtesy and Mgr. Merry del Val's quiet courtesy is very striking in this correspondence, and, to judge of Dr. Oxenham's *Validity of Papal Claims* from the extracts in *The Truth of Papal Claims*, there is a similar contrast between the two books.

The Archbishop, as he says, was under no obligation to publish, there being several good books which he enumerates as travelling over the same ground, and the purpose of such a course of sermons being not to add anything fresh but to bring the contents of those other books within the purview of the hearers. Still he has thought fit to publish, and we imagine his object has been to provide a little book which might be useful to English visitors to Rome, who often develop an interest in Catholic claims, and welcome a course of sermons from an English preacher as a means of learning what is to be said on their behalf. The little volume is well adapted to serve that purpose. It is a defence of the clause in the Vatican decree which claims that "all the venerable Fathers have embraced, and the holy orthodox Doctors have venerated and followed the Apostolic doctrine" of the Holy See, and after a preliminary explanation of what is meant by Papal Supremacy and Infallibility, has chapters on the Venerable Fathers, the Constant Belief of every age, the Councils of the Church, and Catholic England, together with one which discusses the adverse arguments. Many old friends come up for consideration in this way, such as the Council of Jerusalem, St. Victor and the Eastern Churches, St. Stephen and St. Cyprian, St. Augustine, St.

Chrysostom and Origen on the Petrine texts, the Twenty-Eighth Canon of Chalcedon, and so on. It is Dr. Oxenham who compels the renewed discussion of such points by his indulgence in the convenient custom of repeating charges but ignoring all previous answers to them. Still, if a circulation can be obtained, it will be an advantage to have the answers repeated clearly and forcibly, as they are by Archbishop Merry del Val, and so brought under the notice of fresh inquirers.

8.—HAIL, FULL OF GRACE.¹

Many excellent books have been written on the Rosary, but there is still room for more, so fertile is the subject, and Mother Loyola, who this time writes for adults, has written one which is sure to be a favourite. Each Mystery has a chapter to itself, composed of several sections, of which the first gives the passage from the Gospels which contains the history. Then comes a simple but vivid description of the scene of the Mystery, after which follow several sections of devout thoughts. The penultimate sections are in verse, and the final sections contain appropriate texts. These chapters will form useful matter for spiritual reading quite independent of the Rosary, but their primary purpose is of course to teach us how to say our Rosaries more profitably.

Father Thurston as usual writes a Preface, and we know of nothing better than this Preface when combined with Mother Loyola's own Introductory Chapter to recommend to those who may be tempted to think the Rosary a mechanical devotion.

Literary Record.

I.—BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

MONSIGNOR MIGNOT, Archbishop of Albi, is well-known as a prelate who fully appreciates the necessity of applying Catholic Theology to the needs of the present day in a form adapted to the requirements of modern unbelief, and the C.T.S. has done well to issue in pamphlet form (3d.) his discourse delivered on occasion of the opening session of the *Institute Catholique* of Toulouse (Oct. 1, 1901), under the title *The Method of*

¹ *Hail, Full of Grace*. Simple Thoughts on the Rosary. By Mother Mary Loyola. Edited by Father Thurston, S.J. London: Sands and Co.

Theology. For many it will doubtless prove rather stiff reading, and they may not altogether succeed in realizing the definite meaning which underlies language that has to be somewhat periphrastic, and is perhaps occasionally rather more rhetorical than might be desired. Nevertheless, there ought to be no difficulty in catching the Archbishop's main point, that theologians must now-a-days make themselves thoroughly acquainted with other sciences so far as they have a possible bearing on theology, and, while looking to the infallible *Magisterium* of the Church alone, for authoritative guidance, must fearlessly accept whatever these sciences can prove to be true, which by no possibility can contradict revealed truth.

The name of the Archbishop of Albi suggests the mention of an article in the *Monthly Review* for December, 1902, entitled *The French Prelates on the Politico Religious Crisis*, which may be recommended to the attention of those who desire to understand a state of things across the Channel which to English ideas is almost incomprehensible. In it Mr. M. A. Gerothwohl has collected the replies returned by various distinguished representatives of the French clergy, Mgr. Mignot amongst them, to certain questions proposed by himself, and while these are by no means in complete accord, they furnish amongst them a life-like picture of the situation and of the temper of the French people which has created it.

From the Catholic Repository, Little Britain, we receive an edition of the approved *Catechism of Christian Doctrine, with a Compendium of Bible History, and a Prayer Book*, 132 pages in all, in a cover of cardinal cloth for one penny. For its necessarily small dimensions the prayer-book is wonderfully complete.

In *Sundays and Festivals with the Fathers of the Church* (by the Rev. D. G. Hubert. London, Washbourne) we have readings on the Gospels throughout the year drawn from patristic homilies or treatises. That these should serve the purposes of preachers, as they stand, cannot of course be expected, but they will suggest many thoughts which worked into modern guise should prove effective, and still more are they adapted for private reading and reflection as tending to impress upon the mind the essential identity of the Church in the twentieth century, despite the changes of the world around, with that of the great Fathers and Doctors of whom we often hear, but whom frequently we know so little.

Of the *Catholic Directory* for 1903, it is enough to say that it faithfully reproduces the characteristics to which we have grown accustomed, and which makes it as indispensable for Catholics as is *Whitakers* for general purposes.

The penny Almanack issued by the C.T.S. is a marvellous *multum in parvo*, containing besides a very full Ecclesiastical Calendar, copious information as to Indulgences to be gained during the year, and as to the proper Vespers for all Sundays and holidays, with a Lenten dietary arranged in tabular form which any one should understand at a glance. In addition there are a full list of Popes, and another of English Martyrs, various Catholic statistics, the text of prayers commonly recited in church, and a useful statement of the objects and operations of the C.T.S. itself.

Who's Who (Adam and Charles Black, 5s.) maintains its wonted level of excellence, and tells us what we want to know about everybody worth knowing about; perhaps in some instances the information supplied concerning minor luminaries of the social firmament is somewhat in excess of general demand.

The Englishwoman's Year Book (same publishers, 2s. 6d.) is another useful compilation, and contains—*inter alia*—much information concerning Catholic institutions and charities.

II.—MAGAZINES.

Some contents of foreign Periodicals :

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR KATHOLISCHE THEOLOGIE. (1903. I.)
Pope and Council before the year 1000. *C. A. Kneller*. The Teaching of St. Thomas regarding the Sacrament of Penance. *J. Göttinger*. Texts bearing on the Constitution of the Early Church. *S. von Dunin Borkowski*. Reviews, &c.

REVUE BÉNÉDICTINE. (1903. I.)

The Bishops Auxiliary of Cambrai in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries. *Dom U. Berlière*. The Interpolations in St. Cyprian's treatise, *De Unitate*. *Dom J. Chapman*. Some Unprinted Fragments of Arnobius the Younger. *Dom G. Morin*. Reviews, &c.

STIMMEN AUS MARIA LAACH. (January.)

Economic History and Development. *H. Pesch*. A Bavarian Princess. *O. Pfülf*. The Origin of Species. *E. Wasmann*. Automatic Writing. *J. Bessmer*. The "Dead Hand" of the Religious Orders. *H. Gruber*. The Library of Congress at Washington. *R. Schwickerath*. Reviews, &c.

LES ÉTUDES RELIGIEUSES. (January 5 and 20.)

- The Shores of the Bosphorus. *J. Burnichon*. The Gospel and the Church. *L. de Grandmaison*. Père Amiot. *C. de Rochemonteix*. Free Education. *P. Ker*. Inspiration and Infallibility of Scripture in questions of History. *J. Brucker*. Final Causes. *L. Roure*. Orthodoxy and the Modern Spirit. *A. de la Barre*. Reviews, &c.

THE (AMERICAN) ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW. (January.)

- The Apostolic Authorship of the Symbol. *A. MacDonald*. Apostolic Faculties. *A. Schaepman*. The Sacrament of Confirmation in the Old Colonies. *T. Hughes, S.J.* An Hereditary Papacy. *J. T. Creagh*. Reviews, &c.

LA CIVILTÀ CATTOLICA. (January 3 and 17.)

- The Christianity of Adolf Harnack. Trades Unions. The Centenary of M. Tommaseo. London the Greatest Township in the World. A Political Dilemma and Divorce. St. Peter in Rome. The Year of the Death of St. Satirus. Reviews, &c.

RAZÓN Y FE. (January.)

- Duelling. *J. Alarcón*. Civilization and the Latin Races. *L. Murillo*. The Discovery of the Straits of Magellan. *E. Moreu*. The Holy Shroud. *B. F. Valladares*. Reviews.

LE CANONISTE CONTEMPORAIN. (December, 1902.)

- The Privileges of Cistercian Abbots. *A. Boudinhon*. Recent Decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites. Papal Documents. Bibliography.

L'UNIVERSITÉ CATHOLIQUE. (January 15th.)

- The Apostolate of Society Life. *Abbé Delfour*. Scientific Theories regarding the Holy Shroud. *A. Donnadien*. The Evangelization of Florida. A New Poem on the Creation. *A. Chagny*. Notes on the Holy Shroud. *U. Chevalier*. Reviews, &c.

REVUE DU CLERGÉ FRANÇAIS. (January 1 and 15.)

- History of the Rouen Breviary. *E. Vacandard*. One Catechism for France and what it should be. *L. Palfray*. The Fabric of our Churches. *H. Fédou*. The "Stages" of M. Paul Bourget. *C. Lecigne*. Our Popular Devotions—the Rosary of St. Bridget. *A. Boudinhon*. The avoidable Enemies of Health. *Dr. Tison*. Reviews, &c.

